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EAST EUROPEANS ATTEND CEMA MEETING IN HAVANA

For Cuban and other reportage on the 39th CEMA meeting which begins in Havana on 29 October and is being attended by delegations from Eastern Europe, the USSR, Mongolia, Vietnam, and other countries, see the Cuba section of the 29 October Latin America DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

CHAIRMEN OF INTERCOSMOS BODIES MEET IN BERLIN

LD242125 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1736 GMT 24 Oct 84

[Excerpts] Berlin, 24 Oct (ADN) -- In Berlin the chairmen of the national coordinating bodies of the countries participating in the Intercosmos program for research and utilization of space have demanded a ban on all types of arms in outer space. It is necessary, in line with the proposal submitted by the Soviet Union, to conclude a treaty on outlawing the use of force in space and from space against the earth. In the view of the participants, what is especially important is resolute continuation of research into the peaceful use of space in the spheres of long-range exploration of the earth, materials science and biotechnological research, as well as medical research into further improvement of living conditions in space stations. The participants in the talk, among them Professor Vladimir Kotelnikov, chairman of the Intercosmos Council and first vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, unanimously expressed the peaceful character of this work. They strongly opposed plans announced by the U.S. Administration to create new systems of space weapons, which would further increase the danger of a world nuclear catastrophe.

Call For Weapon-Free Space

LD262105 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1316 GMT 26 Oct 84

[Excerpts] Berlin, 26 Oct (ADN) -- The regular 17th session of the chairmen of the national coordinating organs of the member-countries in the Intercosmos program ended in Berlin today. At a news conference with delegation leaders from Bulgaria, the CSSR, the GDR, Cuba, Mongolia, the PPR, Romania, the USSR, Hungary, and Vietnam, the successful development of cooperation in all areas was stressed. During the past week, the scientists discussed the results of joint research and experiments conducted since 1983 in the areas of cosmic physics, meteorology, biology and medicine, communications, and earth exploration from space.

The GDR delegation head Professor Dr Claus Grote, chairman of the Intercosmos Coordinating Committee and general secretary of the Academy of Sciences, said that the main lines of joint cosmic research and experiments for 1986-1990 were confirmed. Questions on further expanding and increasing efficiency of cooperation also were discussed with special emphasis on economic use of results jointly achieved.

In an appeal to the 39th UN General Assembly, the 10 national committees call for the exploration and use of space while doing everything to keep space free of weapons so that it may serve the objectives of peaceful cooperation among states, and is used for exclusively peaceful purposes for the benefit of mankind.

ITALIAN COURT'S INDICTMENTS DRAW FIRE FROM SOFIA

BTA Reports Findings

AU261650 Sofia BTA in English 1628 GMT 26 Oct 84

["B.T.A. Declaration" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 26 (BTA) -- Today investigating magistrate Ilario Martella released his findings on the investigation against the Bulgarian nationals Sergey Antonov, Todor Ayvazov and Zhelyu Vasilev, under which they are to be brought to trial on charges of complicity in the attempted assassination of Pope John Paul II committed on May 13, 1981 by the Turkish hired assassin and recidivist Mehmet Ali Agca.

According to statements of investigating magistrate Martella, the Bulgarian citizens are to be arraigned before court without proof of guilt, upon the basis of evidence alone, which is said to offer sufficient legal grounds to open a trial. Mehmet Ali Agca is still the basic source of this evidence.

No details are known about the findings of the investigating magistrate. It should be stressed, however, that objectivity and impartiality can hardly be expected by either the investigation or the Italian justice. We have every reason to believe this, having in mind the slanderous charges against the Bulgarian citizens and the Bulgarian state contained in prosecutor Albano's report, which were deliberately made public and also the circumstance that in the course of the investigation, contempt was shown for obvious facts disproving any Bulgarian complicty. A gross breach of the investigation secrecy was committed in violation of the principle that the accused is "not guilty" until otherwise proven.

In the course of almost two years the Bulgarian state spared no effort in offering unreserved cooperation to the Italian investigation authorities to establish the objective truth — a fact, which was praised by investigating magistrate Martella himself. Unfortunately, the Italian investigation has failed to overcome its prejudices and to reject the slanders under which the Bulgarian citizen Antonov was detained.

It has become clear for every unbiased person that this is not a matter of judicial error, but of a political conspiracy against Bulgaria and socialism. There is no doubt as to who the instigators and the organizers of this conspiracy are, as well as of the anti-Bulgarian and anti-socialist campaign: those circles of the United States and NATO, whose interests lie in worsening East-West relations, in increasing international tensions and in stepping up the arms race. A big part of the responsibility rests with certain circles in the Italian Administration, which did not waver to join the campaign of vilification in spite of holding senior government posts. Unprecedented disrespect has been shown for the fundamental standards of conduct in international relations, and imperative norms of international diplomatic law [have been] grossly violated.

The BULGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY has been authorized to declare that the Bulgarian state will persist in sincerely seeking the clarification of the truth. With means suitable for the new stage which the case is entering, the Bulgarian state and Antonov's legal defense will endeavor to prove the innocence of the accused Bulgarian citizens and to expose the organizers of the anti-Bulgarian and the anti-socialist provocation.

Sergey Antonov and the other unjustly accused Bulgarians are innocent. That is why an immediate end must be put to the shameful provocation and Sergey Antonov must be released!

Sharp Protest Issued

AU271533 Sofia BTA in English 1523 GMT 27 Oct 84

["Sharp Protest" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 27 (BTA) -- Sr Giovanni Battistini, Italy's ambassador in Sofia, was summoned today to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria, where Mr Lyuben Gotsev, deputy minister of foreign affairs, handed him a sharp protest in connection with the indictment released by the Italian investigation under which the Bulgarian nationals Sergey Antonov, Todor Ayvazov and Zhelyu Vasilev are to be brought to trial on charges of complicity in the assassination attempt against the head of the Roman Catholic Church. The ambassador was told that the arraignment of the Bulgarians is yet another categorical indication that it is not a matter of judicial error but rather of a prearranged provocation against the People's Republic of Bulgaria and against real socialism, aimed at the further deterioration of East-West relations and of the international situation.

Ignoring the incontestable proofs produced by Sergey Antonov's defence and the confutations by the Bulgarian state disproving the accusations of the assassin Ali Agca, upon which the investigation's decision is largely founded, and in gross violation of the international diplomatic accords, the Italian state has become, knowingly or not, a collaborator and instrument of this provocation.

The recent situation which has emerged from the bias displayed towards the case by representatives of official quarters in Italy, from the slanderous charges brought by Deputy Prosecutor General Albano, from the gross violation of international law and from the disregard shown by the Italian investigation for a number of facts and proofs establishing the innocence of the Bulgarian nationals, as well as for Sergey Antonov's letters and pleas addressed to senior offices in Italy, evokes serious concern over the objectivity of the investigation and of the coming trial.

All this puts Bulgaro-Italian relations to a serious test and casts a shadow on their present and future.

The ambassador was told that Bulgaria will persist in using adequate means to defend the innocence of the Bulgarian citizens and to unmask the conspiracy against this country.

U.S. Encouragement Cited

AU272103 Sofia BTA in English 1751 GMT 27 Oct 84

[Prof. A. Yankov: "Put an End to Judicial Arbitrariness" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 27 (BTA) -- "The actions undertaken so far by the Italian judicial authorities are encouraged by Washington and by certain senior Italian state officials and public figures who do not conceal their hostile attitude towards the socialist countries. These actions give us every reason to believe that the Italian authorities have succumbed to the pressure and have violated some fundamental principles of democratic jurisdiction and of international law," said prominent Bulgarian diplomatist Prof. Aleksandur Yankov.

Prof. Yankov was interviewed by a BTA reporter in connection with the indictment released by the investigating magistrate of Rome, Dr Ilario Martella, against Sergey Antonov and two other Bulgarian nationals charged with complicity in the assassination attempt against Pope John Paul II.

Aleksandur Yankov is a corresponding member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, professor in international law at the university of Sofia and chairman of the United Nations International Law Commission.

"There is no doubt", Prof. Yankov points out, "that this trial is being used as a disguise of the aggressive and hostile line pursued by the U.S. and NATO in respect to the socialist countries. "Unfortunately", the Bulgarian lawyer emphasised,"the Italian judicial authorities have not stopped short of violating their own legislation and more particularly the Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure, as well as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights. By way of 'proofs', they make exclusive use of the testimonies of the convicted terrorist Agca given against a promised commutation."

"Under Article 343 of the Italian Code of Criminal Procedure, the charges against a defendant cannot be based on the testimony given by another defendant", Prof. Yankov emphasises. "A gross breach has been likewise committed of the secrecy of the investigation, which constitutes a punishable offence under Article 326 of the Italian Penal of Rights with its explicit provision that 'no one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile' and that the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy trial. The European Convention on Human Rights is even more categorical and demanding in this respect", Prof. Yankov said.

He pointed out that the hostile anti-Bulgarian and anti-socialist campaign fanned up by influential circles in the U.S. and its NATO allies has failed to conceal the fact that the judicial inquiry in Rome has raised serious problems of legal, political, and humanitarian nature.

The Bulgarian lawyer recalled that the recently concluded 12th Congress of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, attended by more than 600 delegates from nearly 90 countries, voiced particular concern over the way this investigation has been conducted and over its use for political purposes by the aggressive quarters interested in the increasing of international tensions. As is known, the congress has adopted an unanimous resolution laying an emphasis on the unreasonably long preliminary detention, on the violation of the principles of the presumption of innocence and the observance of the secrecy of the investigation. The political repercussions and the breach of international accords on human rights make it imperative "to shed light, as soon as possible, on all aspects of this case."

The congress has resolved to set up an international commission to investigate this case. "Italian justice still has a chance to remit the violations admitted, to establish the objective truth, to put an end to this unwarranted judicial act, and to release the innocent Bulgarian national", Prof. Aleksandur Yankov said.

No Plans To Recall Rome Envoy

AU272027 Rome ANSA in English 1950 GMT 27 Oct 84

[Excerpt] (ANSA) Rome, October 27 -- Press reports to the effect that Bulgaria was about to call its ambassador in Rome home in protest against indictments against three Bulgarian nationals for the May 1981 attempt on the pope's life were denied here today by an embassy spokesman.

"For the time being", the spokesman, said, no move of the kind is being considered. "I have no news of plans" to call Ambassador Rayko Nikolov back to Sofia.

DZHUROV MEETS GANDHI, ENDS TALKS WITH CHAVAN

AU262054 Sofia BTA in English 1905 GMT 26 Oct 84

[Contribution to Strengthening Bulgaro-Indian Ties -- BTA headline]

[Text] New Delhi, October 26 (BTA correspondent) -- Mrs Indira Gandhi, prime minister of India, received today Army General Dobri Dzhurov, Politburo member of the CC of the BCP and minister of national defense, who is paying an official friendly visit here at the invitation of India's Minister of Defense Mr Shankarrao Bharao Chavan.

Army General Dobri Dzhurov emphasized that Bulgaria shares India's concern over the complication of the situation in the region of the Indian Ocean and over the overall deterioration of the international climate. He said that the forces of imperialism are responsible for that. Mrs Indira Gandhi outlined the internal and international problems facing India and expressed her conviction that they will be solved. She pointed out that all problems can and must be resolved in a peaceful manner. India's prime minister expressed her satisfaction with the promotion of Indo-Bulgarian relations and with the considerable possibilities for their expansion.

X X X

The defence ministers of Bulgaria and India held their closing session of talks today. They expressed their common conviction that the visit had contributed to the consolidation of Bulgaro-Indian contacts which are founded on the basis of friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation, in the interest of both countries' peoples and of the cause of peace.

Comments on Visit

AU272140 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 27 Oct 84

[Text] Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, who paid an official friendly visit to India, has returned home. During his visit there he had talks with Shankarrao Chavan, Indian minister of defense. The two ministers exchanged information and discussed issues of mutual interest in the sphere of bilateral cooperation. Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov visited subunits of the infantry, air force, and naval forces and acquainted himself with some of the historic sites in the Republic of India.

ENVOY REFERS TO CIA MANUAL, GRENADA IN UN DEBATE

AU271519 Sofia BTA in English 0853 GMT 27 Oct 84

[Text] Sofia, October 27 (BTA correspondent) -- In his address to the UN General Assembly at the discussion of the situation in Central America, Mr Boris Tsvetkov, Bulgaria's ambassador to the United Nations, voiced his country's concern over mounting tensions in that part of the world.

Acting in concert with the local reactionary forces in its desire to retain its neo-colonial dominance, imperialism deploys troops in the regions, it stages military exercises and prepares the bridgehead for punitive expeditions.

A typical example of such actions can be seen in Grenada whose freedom and independence have been ruthlessly crushed. A serious factor for the destabilization of the region are imperialism's ongoing attempts to exert political, economic and military pressure over Cuba. "The secret war" against the people of Nicaragua is still in progress. The latest in a series of hostile terrorism in contempt of international law, was the C.I.A. - prepared "manual" intended for the mercenary squads and containing instructions for the killing of officials and civilians in Nicaragua and for staging sabotages. All these actions are in glaring contradiction with the obligations assumed by the states under the UN Charter, the Bulgarian representative emphasized.

"Bulgaria is convinced that the crisis in Central America must be settled in a peaceful manner with guarantees provided for the security, the national independence and the sovereignty of all states", Mr Boris Tsvetkov pointed out. The Bulgarian ambassador emphasised that the plan for peace and cooperation in Central America, advanced by the Contadora Group, contains a number of realistic and concrete proposals aimed at securing peace.

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES SOVIET SHIPBUILDING MINISTER

AU261917 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 26 Oct 84

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov has received Igor Belousov, Soviet minister of shipbuilding industry, who is visiting Bulgaria. Talks were held on the further expansion and deepening of the cooperation between our two countries in the sphere of shipbuilding and more particularly in shipping equipment production as well as on intensifying direct contacts between similar Bulgarian and Soviet enterprises. Comrade Ognyan Doynov also attended the cordial and friendly talks.

Doynov, Belousov Visit Varna

AU251851 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 25 Oct 84

[Text] Comrade Ognyan Doynov, minister of machine-building, and Igor Belousov, Soviet minister of shipbuilding industry, who is visiting Bulgaria at the invitation of the government, arrived in Varna this afternoon. Accompanied by Dimitur Popov, first secretary of the Varna Okrug BCP Committee, they visited the Cherno More scientific-production combine, the Georgi Dimitrov shipbuilding combine, and the Institute for Shipping Hydrodynamics where the Soviet leading experience is being widely implemented.

TANZANIAN HOME AFFAIRS MINISTER ARRIVES ON VISIT

AU261634 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 26 Oct 84

[Text] At the invitation of Comrade Dimitur Stoyanov, minister of internal affairs, a delegation of the United Republic of Tanzania led by Ndugu Salimin Amour, member of the Central Committee and of the National Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania and minister of home affairs, has arrived in Bulgaria. The guests were welcomed at Sofia airport by Grigor Shopov, first deputy minister of internal affairs, and by high-ranking officials of the ministry.

STROUGAL LEADS DELEGATION TO HAVANA CEMA TALKS

LD271126 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1100 GMT 27 Oct 84

[Text] A CSSR delegation, led by Lubomir Strougal, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and federal government premier left Prague today for the 39th CEMA session to be held in Havana.

The members of the delegation are: Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Party Central Committee; Rudolf Rohlicek, deputy premier of the federal government and permanent CSSR representative to CEMA; Svatopluk Potac, deputy premier of the federal government and chairman of the State Planning Commission; Zbynek Sojak, director of a department of the CPCZ Central Committee; and Milos Vojta, CSSR ambassador to Cuba.

At the session they will evaluate the results achieved in the development of socialist economic integration since the last CEMA session held in October last year in Berlin. In harmony with the conclusion of the CEMA economic summit conference held in Moscow in June, tasks for further deepening and perfecting mutual cooperation will be debated.

The delegation was seen off at Prague's Ruzyne Airport by deputy premiers of the federal government Ladislav Gerle, Karol Laco and Jaromir Obzina; Vratislav Vajnar; federal minister of the interior; and other representatives of public and political life.

FOREIGN MINISTER CHNOUPEK CONTINUES FINLAND VISIT

Speaks at Helsinki Dinner

LD260224 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2030 GMT 25 Oct 84

[Text] Paavo Vayrynen, Finnish minister of foreign affairs, gave a festive dinner in Helsinki today in honor of Bohuslav Chnoupek, Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs.

In a speech at the dinner Bohuslav Chnoupek emphasized the exemplary bilateral relations, which are marked by traditional friendship, stability understanding and mutually beneficial cooperation, and are not influenced by fluctuations in the international political climate. Chnoupek stated that the first exchange of views with Paavo Vayrynen confirmed that both sides hold the same or very similar views on a number of key international problems. He recalled that the current international situation remains very serious. The cause of this is the policy of the most reactionary imperialist circles, in particular the United States, which will do anything to upset the military balance.

Bohuslav Chnoupek emphasized that Czechoslovakia always shows sincere interest in mutual understanding and in serious, equal, and honorable dialogue. It considers concrete acts, however, and not rhetoric to be decisive. In this context Bohuslav Chnoupek highly praised the interview by Konstantin Chernenko to THE WASHINGTON POST in which the Soviet Union again stretched out its hands towards the United States through a concrete program for improved relations between both countries, which have an irreplaceable responsibility for the preservation of peace and security in the world.

At the close Minister Chnoupek emphasized the active struggle which Czechoslovakia, together with its allies, has undertaken to avert a nuclear catastrophe.

Paavo Vayrynen, Finnish minister of foreign affairs, in his speech at the dinner said his country attempts to consistently contribute to the strengthening of peace in Europe through its activity and initiative. He said the Stockholm conference taking place at the present time has considerable significance for Finland because it marks the first time that neutral states such as Finland have been given the opportunity to express themselves together with others in an equal way on questions of the security of the European Continent.

Paavo Vayrynen described relations between Finland and Czechoslovakia as without problems. As he emphasized, without taking account of the differences in social systems, both countries are struggling for the same goals in international policy, and each one in its own way works for a fruitful mutual interaction between nations.

Meets Finnish Leaders

LD261656 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1530 GMT 26 Oct 84

[Text] Bohuslav Chnoupek, Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs, who is on an official visit to Finland, was received in Helsinki today by Mauno Koivisto, president of the Republic of Finland. The Czechoslovak minister conveyed to the Finnish president greetings from Gustav Husak, the Czechoslovak president, which have been reciprocated cordially. He also expressed appreciation of the results of his talks with Paavo Vayrynen, the Finnish foreign minister. He stressed that relations between Czechoslovakia and Finland are exemplary and based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, and he voiced Czechoslovakia's interest in further developing, relations.

In assessing foreign-political issues, President Mauno Koivisto pointed to the need to do everything possible to improve the situation in the world and also mentioned celebrations now being prepared to mark the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. Minister Chnoupek stressed on this occasion that Czechoslovakia has always supported the Helsinki Conference and the implementation of its conclusions. He pointed out the worsening international situation arising from the deployment of American nuclear missiles in Western Europe. He stressed that the CSSR and other socialist states insist on halting the deployment of these missiles, withdrawal of all those already deployed, and the removal of all obstacles preventing the restoration of talks and the cancellation of the necessary countermeasures taken by the socialist states.

Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs, and members of his entourage, have also been received today by Kalevi Sorsa, the Finnish prime minister. Their talks concerned primarily economic cooperation between both countries, which the Finnish prime minister described as very positive, voicing his interest in its all round expansion.

Terms Talks Very Successful

LD270148 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 26 Oct 84

[Excerpt] In the afternoon, the Czechoslovak foreign minister gave a press conference in the Hotel Intercontinental. Minister Chnoupek described the talks in Helsinki as very successful and said that the stability of Czechoslovak-Finnish relations is a contribution towards the construction of a peaceful Europe and a Europe of cooperation, and is in the spirit of the Helsinki Conference. He stated that a prerequisite for progress at the Stockholm Conference is the creation of such working structures as will allow the simultaneous discussion of both military political and military technical measures.

He emphasized the need for a positive reply from the West to the proposal of the Warsaw Pact states to agree not to use [word indistinct] in mutual relations. He also praised the Finnish initiative to create a nuclear free zone in northern Europe. In response to a question concerning the resurrection of revanchism in the FRG, Bohuslav Chnoupek answered that the activity of revanchist forces has grown because of doubt cast on the existing arrangement in Europe by representatives of [word indistinct] and [word indistinct] government.

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON PALESTINIAN CP MEMBER VISIT

AU252031 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Oct 84 p 2

[Text] Prague (CTK) -- A delegation of the Palestinian Communist Party, led by Suleyman Najab, member of the Politburo of the Palestinian Communist Party's Central Committee, visited Czechoslovakia at the CPCZ Central Committee's invitation on 15-20 October 1984. At the conclusion of the visit a joint communique was adopted which states, among other things:

In assessing the situation in the Middle East the two parties stated, among other things, that Israel's aggressive, expansionist policy, carried out with the full support of the United States, is the cause of the continuing explosive situation in the region.

The CPCZ and the Palestinian Communist Party stressed that the real interests of the Arab peoples demand in the current situation still closer cohesion among the Arab anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist forces, and the conslidation of their relations with the countries of the socialist community and with all progressive and democratic forces throughout the world. The CPCZ supports the efforts of the Palestinian Communist Party and of other Palestinian and patriotic forces to strengthen the PLO's unity on the basis of a consistent implemtnation of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

Both parties resolutely condemn the Israeli and American policy of aggression and annexation aimed against the Arab countries, and Israel's terror against the population of the occupied Arab territories. They affirmed their solidarity with the fight of the Lebanese people for unity, territorial integrity, independence, sovereignty, and for being part of the Arab world; and they expressed their support for the Lebanese patriotic forces. They demand the unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli occupation troops from southern Lebanon.

CPCZ CENTRAL COMMITTEE GREETS LEBANESE CP

LD232159 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 23 Oct 84

[Text] The CPCZ Central Committee has sent greetings to the Lebanese Communist Party Central Committee on the occasion of the 60th founding anniversary of the party. The message recalls the years-long selfless struggle waged by the party for the just demands of the Lebanese working people, for freedom, democracy, national independence, and social progress.

The CPCZ Central Committee pays tribute to the resolve of the Lebanese Communist Party, which is guided consistently by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and which is continuing along the path of resolute struggle against the aggressive forces of imperialism and Zionism and their plans aimed against the Arab countries and progressive forces around the world.

In conclusion, the CPCZ Central Committee wishes all Lebanese Communists many further successes in their struggle to strengthen the united front of all democratic and progressive forces of Lebanon.

It also expresses the conviction that the comradely and internationalist cooperation between the CPCZ and the Lebanese Communist party will continue to be further strengthened and deepened for the benefit of the people of the two countries and in the interests of progress and peace in the world.

PRC PERCEIVED AS 'FAWNING' UPON CAPITALISM

AU251336 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 23 Oct 84 p 2

[Commentary by Josef Pesek: "Beijing Is Fawning Upon Capitalism"]

[Text] Deng Xiaoping, the highest Chinese representative, addressed the closing session of an economic symposium in Beijing, for which representatives of banks, industrial circles, and economic institutions from the main capitalist countries had gathered. He called on the West to reinforce its investment activity in the PRC and stressed that these steps are absolutely free of risk and that the West can increase its investments in the Chinese economy without having to fear for their future. He also stressed that China's cooperation with capitalist states has a long-term prospect and that its expansion is in the interest of both partners.

These words of Deng Xiaoping suggest that this main supporter of economic contacts with the West more and more firmly pursues the course upon which he embarked 10 years ago. In 1975 he was the first leading Chinese representative to appear in Western Europe, beginning his "open door" policy, a policy of currying favor with capitalism. This trend has become substantially more pronounced recently. It proceeds along all lines: Beijing representatives negotiate with the highest representatives of Western states, as well as with representatives of companies whose cooperation they seek.

The most recent visitor to China was West German Chancellor H. Kohl who, for the time being, completed the sequence of visits by major capitalist politicians to Beijing. More important than the FRG representative's deliberations were this year's talks with Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone and the American President Reagan. On this occasion, Japan granted to Beijing a government credit of $2.2 billion with a low rate of interest and a running time of 7 years. This is the highest credit ever granted to the PRC and should make possible a large-scale modernization program of key industrial branches. The Japanese would thereby like to maintain their position as China's most important trade partner (with a trade exchange worth $10 billion) and try to make Beijing agree to an expansion of Japanese investments in the Chinese economy.

The economic dialogue with the American President this April resulted in an agreement on nuclear power plants, which is a hefty chunk for American companies, worth some $20 billion. Some 800 American companies, 110 of which maintain permanent representative offices in China, have economic relations with China. American authorities have been quite generously issuing permits for "double designation" technology deliveries (usable both in the civilian and military spheres) amounting to around $2 billion. The annual trade turnover of $4.4 billion should be further expanded and investments of American companies in the Chinese economy, which now amount to $700 million, should further increase.

Even though Washington and Tokyo are regarded by Chinese diplomacy as the main sphere of interest, Beijing does not forget the third major capitalist center either, as Kohl's visit shows. Incidentally, Zhao Ziyang, Premier of the PRC State Council, was in Western Europe in the first half of the year and, in the course of his 3-week tour, visited seven major countries, including the EEC's Brussels headquarters.

Hardly a week passes without a report coming from Beijing about the further reinforcement of its economic ties with the West.

For example, a few days ago the West German Volkswagen automobile company signed an agreement, the first one of its kind, on the licensed production of passenger cars in China. And PRC President Li Xiannian has said that the Chinese economy must adapt to the market economy and strengthen its contacts with Western countries.

The main idea conveyed by this fawning upon the West by Beijing is its continuing anti-Sovietism and a policy directed against the socialist countries.

SYRIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY DELEGATION ENDS VISIT

AU251421 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Oct 84 p 8

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] A delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Syrian Arab Republic, which paid a visit to the CSSR on the occasion of consultations with the federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, left Prague yesterday. In the course of talks -- conducted by 'Isam al Na'ib, deputy minister of foreign affairs for the Syrian side, and Stanislav Svoboda, deputy minister of foreign affairs for the Czechoslovak side -- the two delegations exchanged views on the current international situation and assessed the possibility of expanding bilateral relations further.

KEMPNY RECEIVES FRG LANDTAG DELEGATION

LD270143 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 26 Oct 84

[Text] Josef Kempny, chairman of the Czech National Council, today in Prague received a group of deputies and journalists from North Rhine Westphalia in the FRG led by John Van Nes Ziegler, chairman of the Landtag.

We are pleased, Josef Kempny said, that both countries are documenting in practice the possibilities of concrete cooperation in the current complicated international conditions. It is above all because despite fundamental differences between the political and economic systems within which we live, we are linked by a categorical requirement to preserve peace as the only sensible alternative to threat against the existence of Europe and the whole of humanity.

John Van Nes Ziegler again emphasized that it is necessary to continually bear in mind both the historical relations of neighborly coexistence and the tragic events of war of the recent past so that we can prevent them in the future and defend peace on the whole planet.

POLEDNIK RECEIVES LCY STUDY DELEGATION

LD262123 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 26 Oct 84

[Text] CPCZ Central Committee Secretary Jindrich Polednik received in Prague today a study delegation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, led by Velisav Vuksanovic, Montenegro LC Central Committee Presidium secretary. The members of the delegation have been acquainting themselves during the visit with the development of the political system in Czechoslovakia.

HOFFMANN VIEWS NATO POLICY, SOCIALIST RESPONSE

LD261403 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1145 GMT 26 Oct 84

[Text] Berlin, 26 Oct (ADN) -- Imperialism is responding to the increased strength of socialism and the growing struggle of the peoples for peace and social progress with the most massive and dangerous attempt yet seen to halt the advance of socialism and the process of national and social liberation in the world, Army General Heinz Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and GDR minister of national defense, said today at a meeting of commanders at the Ministry of National Defense. The meeting was attended by Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee and the staff members of the Defense Ministry.

Heinz Hoffmann also said that the military leaders of the United States and NATO are gaining increasingly greater status and have the objective of destroying the approximate military-strategic balance.

This is manifested in the American missile deployment in Western Europe, the realization of a gigantic arms program composed of all types of weapons systems -- from space weapons, to strategic MX missiles, to a new rifle -- and in imperialism's sharpened ideological war preparation, Army General Hoffmann emphasized. Patriotic and internationalist duty demands that the soldiers of socialism react militantly to the new aspects of the class struggle, and that they meet the dangerous imperialist endeavors vigilantly and in combat readiness.

Such important anniversaries as the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism and the liberation of the German people from fascism, and the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Warsaw Pact were worthy occasions, Minister Hoffmann added, to inspire the Armed Forces and Border Troops, side by side with their comrades-in-arms, to do everything to protect socialist achievements and peace.

AWACS FLIGHTS CONSTITUTE 'WAR PREPARATIONS'

DW260849 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1210 GMT 25 Oct 84

[Egbert von Frankenberg commentary]

[Text] Today it is no longer possible to fly through foreign air space unnoted and engage in aerial espionage. Nevertheless, some people -- in the U.S. Pentagon, for instance -- use the most modern radar equipment to try to carry out radiotechnical reconnaissance of the Warsaw Pact states bordering on the NATO countries, and primarily the Soviet Union.

The AWACS aircraft system was developed for this purpose and is supposed to supply required data on targets. These aircraft are developed from the civilian version of the Boeing 707, type E3A, which have a crew of 30, including 13 radar personnel. According to AEROSPACE DAILY, each of these aircraft costs about $100 million. Expenditures made so far to set up the AWACS system are estimated to be about $2 billion. The aircraft has a flying weight of about 150 tons, its maximum altitude is 12,000 meters, and its operating range is 10,000 km. With all of its radioelectronic equipment, the radar set for checking airspace and the earth's surface, the electronic data processing machines, the computers, and the navigation and position-finding facilites, the E3A has become over the past 10 years, a flying espionage center, and if required, can be made a command headquarters.

These aircraft can pinpoint up to 1,500 targets up to 650 km away in the air and 350 km away on the earth's surface. Of these targets, 190 can be automatically traced, and satellite killers [preceding word in English] can be aimed at 30 such targets. The E3A aircraft are reportedly to be modernized in the second half of the eighties. By then, a total of 80 planes are to be delivered on orders of the Pentagon. In addition, there are 11 similar British Nimrod aircraft.

The often well-informed British FINANCIAL TIMES writes that all AWACS systems have been stationed in various NATO countries, for example in Preveza in western Greece, on the basis of a treaty concluded with the United States by a previous government in Athens. AWACS aircraft are flying missions from Konya in southern Turkey, partly to observe the area of tension between Greece and Turkey in the Aegean Sea, and partly to spy on the Middle East on behalf of Israel, but also to exploit all antagonism in this region to the advantage of U.S. objectives.

Furthermore, if the maxim is that war must never again emanate from German soil, then the flights of the AWACS systems from the Geilenkirchen airfield north of Aachen likewise constitute direct preparations for war because they are being conducted along the coast of the Baltic Sea and along the borders of the USSR, the GDR, and the CSSR as far as the eastern border of Austria. The command of the systems is located in Beglium in the rooms of the staff of the NATO supreme commander in Europe.

The circle becomes complete when we consider that all intelligence gained by the E3A aircraft is also routed to Bundeswehr General Mack, the deputy NATO supreme commander who has control over all NATO nuclear weapons and who coordinates the date on targeting for nuclear weapons. In addition, all leading political and military organs of NATO states receive the information directly from aboard the E3A -- from the horse's mouth, as it were -- over the NATO [NADGE] communications system.

Anyone who remembers the preparations for war against the first socialist country can in no way remain indifferent in the face of today's modern repeat performance of such preparations for war against the countries of the socialist community.

HAEBER, PAPANDREOU DISCUSS DETENTE, ARMS RACE

LD282131 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 28 Oct 84

[Text] Today in Athens, Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou and Herbert Haeber, member of the Politburo, and secretary of the SED Central Committee, called for increased efforts by all forces of goodwill to secure peace and revitalize detente. In this regard they praised the good development in relations between both states and supported further expansion in those relations. During the friendly talks, Herbert Haeber expressed the GDR's high regard and support for Andreas Papandreou's efforts to take further steps to stop the international arms race together with the other well-known statesmen.

Haeber Speaks at Rally

AU251322 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Oct 84 p 5

[Text] Athens (ADN) -- On the second day of its visit, the SED delegation under the leadership of Herbert Haeber, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, arrived in Salonika on 23 October.

It was cordially welcomed by Kostas Tsolakis, member of the Politburo of the Greek Communist Party [KKE] Central Committee, Kostas Voulgaropoulos, member of the Central Committee and secretary of the Macedonian-Thracian regional leadership, and by other members of the Communist Party regional leadership. They briefed the guests from the GDR about the KKE activities in that region.

In the evening the SED delegation met with the members of the KKE regional aktiv at a friendship meeting at which the fraternal friendship between the SED and the KKE as well as between the peoples of the two countries in the joint struggle for peace, democracy, and social progress was impressively displayed. The GDR delegation presented to the Greek party aktiv a red banner with the portrait of the immortal international workers leader Wilhelm Pieck as a token of the close combat alliance between the SED and the KKE.

In Herbert Haeber's speech, which was received with great applause, he stressed that today more than ever it is important "to do everything possible to ensure the preservation of peace in the world. The struggle for peace, against the imperialist policy of aggression, to save mankind from a nuclear catastrophe -- this is the most important task of our times."

The speaker went on to say: "Never since the end of World War II has peace been as threatened as it is now. We also know those who are responsible for it; it is the most aggressive quarters of imperialism, primarily the United States, whose policy is aimed at achieving military superiority over socialism by means of an insane arms race."

Herbert Haeber stated: "With its constructive peace proposals, socialism points out a realistic road showing how the arms race can be terminated, how all the controversial issues can be settled peacefully, and how international development can be rechanneled to the path of detente and peaceful coexistence. It is this that is important. Only a few days ago Comrade Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, again submitted proposals to this end. They receive our full support!"

In conclusion, the SED delegation head stated: "It fills us with pleasure and pride to be in one and the same combat alliance with you. Rest assured that we shall further strengthen the inviolable combat alliance between the SED and the KKE."

In the afternoon the SED delegation placed a wreath at Hortiatis, not far from Salonika, in honor of the residents who had been brutally murdered there by the fascist occupiers. In that mountain village on 2 September 1944, 146 men, women, and children had been burned alive as a "reprisal" against partisan operations in the area. The oldest victim was 81 years old, the youngest only 3 months. It is with such acts of terror that a brutal military attempted in vain to break the patriotic resistance of the Greek people.

AXEN, TINDEMANS DISCUSS ARMS RACE, BILATERAL TIES

LD261932 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1225 GMT 26 Oct 84

[Text] Brussels, 26 Oct (ADN) -- It is necessary to conduct systematic political dialogue with substantial content in order to return from the present dangerous situation to detente. This view was expressed by Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and the Belgian Foreign Minister Leo Tindemans in Brussels on Friday during an exchange of views. The meeting offered the opportunity of treating burning problems of the international situation and the further shaping of relations between the two states.

During the talk, which took place in a friendly and open atmosphere, the great range of the latest proposals by Konstantin Chernenko concerning questions of arms limitation and disarmament was discussed.

Hermann Axen and Leo Tindemans discussed and agreed on further concrete steps for the development of bilateral relations.

ADN on Axen Visit

LD270205 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1812 GMT 26 Oct 84

[Text] Brussels, 26 Oct (ADN) -- The solidarity of the SED and the Belgian Communist Party in the struggle to safeguard peace and social progress was affirmed by the delegations of the two parties on Friday at the end of their talks in Brussels. The delegation of the SED Central Committee, in Belgium since Monday, was headed by Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee. The party chairman Louis van Geyt led the delegation of the Belgian Communist Party.

In the evening a meeting took place with members of the Communist Party Federation of Brussels. The rich traditions of the struggle of the working class of the two countries against imperialism and war, and its continuation, above all through the joint advocacy of detente and disarmament, was emphasized.

Hermann Axen was received earlier today for a talk by Karel Van Miert, chairman of the Flemish Socialist Party (SP). The two sides supported the resumption of a substantial dialogue, involving a halting of the arms race and subsequent disarmament. They affirmed the need for an end to deployment and the withdrawal of the missiles, and called for treaties on the nonuse of force, the ban of chemical weapons, and the prevention of the militarization of space.

The two sides advocated the further development of cooperation between the GDR and Belgium in the interest of detente and peace. They agreed to the further development of relations between the two parties.

Hermann Axen today also received Belgian journalists in the GDR Embassy in Brussels. He spoke about his talks with representatives of government, parliament, parties, trade unions, the peace movement, and other social groupings. He called the results useful and constructive.

Hermann Axen explained the GDR's peace policy and the joint proposals of the socialist countries for the improvement of the international situation. The latest offers by Konstantin Chernenko, the politician emphasized, remained a realistic basis for the resumption of negotiations.

HONECKER, MSZMP'S HORVATH HOLD TALKS IN BERLIN

LD262118 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1339 GMT 26 Oct 84

[Text] Berlin, 26 Oct (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, today received Dr Istvan Horvath, member of the MSZMP Central Committee and minister of the interior of the Hungarian People's Republic. The guest conveyed fraternal greetings from Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, which were cordially reciprocated by Erich Honecker.

The friendly talk in the SED Central Committee building was attended by two members of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee: Egon Krenz, secretary of the Central Committee and Army General Erich Mielke, minister for GDR State Security; and by Army General Friedrich Dickel, member of the SED Central Committee and minister of the interior.

PARLIAMENTARIANS CONTINUE SOUTHEAST ASIAN TOUR

Group Visits Ho Chi Minh City

LD261028 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0116 GMT 26 Oct 84

[Text] Hanoi, 26 Oct (ADN) -- The delegation of GDR parliamentarians at present on an official friendship visit to Vietnam led by Erich Mueckenberger, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and member of the People's Chamber Presidium, arrived yesterday in Ho Chi Minh City.

Accompanied by Huynh Cuong, vice chairman of the National Assembly, and representatives of the city party committee and People's Committee of Ho Chi Minh City, the GDR politicians visited the Dragon House, from where Ho Chi Minh put out to sea for France in 1911. During a visit to an exhibition of export products the delegations saw evidence of the level of development of industry and crafts in Vietnam's largest city.

Delegation Arrives in Kampuchea

LD270225 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1400 GMT 26 Oct 84

[Text] Phnom Penh, 26 Oct (ADN) -- After leaving Vietnam, a delegation of the GDR People's Chamber arrived here on Friday for an official friendship visit to the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The delegation, headed by Erich Mueckenberger, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and of the People's Chamber Presidium, was invited by the Kampuchean National Assembly.

Erich Mueckenberger was cordially welcomed at the Pochentong Airport of the capital by Chea Sim, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party and president of the National Assembly, as well as other representatives of the Kampuchean party and state leadership.

On the same day the delegation of the GDR People's Chamber honored the fallen heroes of the Kampuchean revolution by laying a wreath at a memorial. Deeply moved, the GDR delegation members visited the mass graves of Choeun Ek and the former concentration camp Toul Sleng, which recall the terror of the Pol Pot rule.

Mueckenberger Meets Chea Sim

LD271940 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1441 GMT 27 Oct 84

[Text] Phnom Penh, 27 Oct (ADN) -- This weekend in Phnom Penh, Chea Sim, chairman of the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, described the stabilization of agricultural production, which was impaired this year by a severe drought and then by heavy flooding, as the key question to overall economic construction. In a talk with the parliamentary delegation led by Erich Mueckenberger, member of the Presidium of the GDR People's Chamber, Chea Sim stated that there is increasing success in setting industry and business in motion again with their own resources.

The successes in educational and health sectors, as in art and culture, have been great. The removal of Pol Pot bands which still exist and of other reactionary Khmer groups, is described by Chea Sim as a prerequisite for a peaceful settlement of problems and the creation of a zone of peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

Erich Mueckenberger assured his host that the GDR will continue in support of and solidarity with Kampuchea and will continue to actively work for the recognition of the Kampuchean Government as the sole legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people.

ROMANIAN MACHINE-BUILDING MINISTER IN BERLIN

AU251025 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1922 GMT 22 Oct 84

[Text] Berlin, (AGERPRES) 22/10/1984 -- Petre Preoteasa, minister of machine-building industry, was received in Berlin by Gerhard Schuerer, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the SUPG [Socialist Unity Party of Germany], deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, chairman of the State Planning Committee, and by Gerhard Weiss, deputy-chairman of the Council of Ministers, chairman for the GDR of the Government Commission on Economic, Technological and Scientific Collaboration.

During the talks, they analyzed the stage of fulfilment of the understandings and decisions reached at summit level regarding the development of cooperation and specialization in the production of machinery and equipment, the revolution of the economic exchanges in 1984 and 1985. At the same time, measures were established for the deepening of the cooperation and specialization in production, of the technological and scientific collaboration, so that high rages of mutual goods deliveries be ensured in 1986-1990.

SINDERMANN-LED DELEGATION ENDS VISIT TO FRANCE

LD270215 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1556 GMT 26 Oct 84

[Text] Marseilles, 26 Oct (ADN) -- The 4-day official visit of the GDR parliamentary delegation headed by Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, ended with a reception at the historic town hall of Marseilles on Friday. Horst Sindermann conducted a friendly talk with Gaston Deferre, French minister of state for planning and chief mayor of Marseilles. The two stressed the dynamically developing bilateral relations between the GDR and France. Gaston Deferre praised the efficiency of the GDR workers. At a reception given in honor of the People's Chamber delegation the state minister stressed that the GDR holds a leading place in the world in a number of industrial and scientific-technological catagories as well as in sport. "Together we must do everything to prevent a war," he emphasized.

In his reply the People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann thanked his French hosts for the open, trusting dialogue and assessed the visit of the People's Chamber delegation to France as a full success. Despite differing stands on various questions, the delegation had met with attention and great understanding for the policy of the GDR which is aimed at safeguarding peace. Both sides agreed that good bilateral relations between the GDR and France were an important element which stabilized peace in Europe. In this spirit the continuation and deepening of contacts between the two parliaments was agreed upon. Gaston Deferre presented People's Chamber President Sindermann with the honorary medal of the City of Marseilles. The delegation left Marseilles in the afternoon to return to the GDR.

PPR INTERIOR MINISTER CITED ON PRIEST KIDNAPPING

LD272353 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 27 Oct 84

[Text] A Polish Interior Ministry captain confessed killing the Warsaw Priest kidnapped last week, but his accomplice who participated in the action pleaded differently. Our correspondent Jozsef Laszlo reports:

The Polish Interior Minister announced on TV this evening that the three persons arrested in connection with the kidnapping of the Catholic Priest were Interior Ministry employees. General Kiszczak told viewers that the organizer, the 30-year-old Captain Grzegorz Piotrowski worked as a department chief and two of his employees, two lieutenants, also took part in the kidnapping. The organizer also admitted that he planned the kidnapping for a long time because he thought the authorities were treating Father Popieluszko's political activity too lightly.

The interior minister again called on the population to help the investigation in order to find the priest as soon as possible if he is still alive. There is not much hope of the latter because although one of the culprits said they abandoned the priest in the outskirts of the city of Torun, the other accomplice said that he personally killed the clergyman. Detectives, however, searched the outskirts of Torun in vain, where the murder is alleged to have taken place and found no trace of Father Popieluszko.

Gen Kiszczak again stressed that this was a political provocation directed against the process of national reconciliation. He then added that they would not tolerate nor permit any form of terrorism to start in Poland. He also said that everything will be done to learn the background of the affair and to find the possible instigator, who may be concealing himself. He said the public will be informed about this in detail.

MAROTHY, OTHERS ATTEND BUDAPEST PEACE RALLY

LD271119 Budapest MTI in English 1019 GMT 27 Oct 84

[Text] Budapest, October 26 (MTI) -- "Peace is our future" read a poster in the light of tens of thousands of torches at a rally, attended by 100,000 people, in front of the parliament building, Budapest, Friday evening to mark the 10th Hungarian peace conference.

Sandor Lengyel, secretary of the Budapest Communist Youth Union Committee, addressed the 100,000 participants and Laszlo Marothy, member of the HSWP Political Committee and first secretary of the Budapest Party Committee, Gyorgy Fejti, first secretary of the Communist Youth Union Central Committee, Antal Apro, president of the National Assembly, and Zoltan Szepvolgyi, president of the Budapest Municipal Council. [sentence as received]. The secretary welcomed Romesh Chandra, president of the World Peace Council, who has arrived to Hungary to attend the conference to begin Saturday.

In his address Sandor Lengyel stated that although the developments in international life were still unfavourable, the strength of peace movements has been proved by their steady impetus, and there have been further opportunities for people anxious about the fate of mankind to express their wish for peace.

In his speech Miklos Barabas, secretary general of the Hungarian Peace Council, stated that, although there has been peace in Europe for forty years, news is received daily of attempts of extreme circles to spark off a war.

"The driving machinery of missiles are quiet, and in order to keep them silent we have to beleive in the strength of peace that does not consider borders. We have to clasp each others' hands, with disregard of the place where we live, and create a chain in order to force back the fanatics of armament. This is the target of the Hungarian peace movement, which connects millions who feel responsiblity for peace and future regardless of age and ideological stand.

"I am convinced that the peace conference will approve a programme which will provide an opportunity for us all to promote the cause of peace," said Miklos Barabas and added that the leaders of the Hungarian peace movement were determined to unite the dynamism of young people and the experience of the older in the course of their work.

The peace rally ended with a performance of reputed artists.

HUNGARY'S 10TH NATIONAL PEACE CONFERENCE OPENS

LD271828 Budapest MTI in English 1709 GMT 27 Oct 84

[Text] Budapest, October 27 (MTI) -- The 10th Hungarian National Peace Conference began Saturday in Budapest, with the participation of some 1,200 delegates and invited guests. Also present at the conference are Karoly Nemeth, secretary of the HSWP CC, Lajos Mehes, secretary-general of the National Council of Trade Unions, both members of the Political Committee of the HSWP, as well as Janos Borbandi, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and members of the Presidential Council and representatives of social organizations and the churches. A delegation of the World Peace Council, led by its chairman Romesh Chandra is also contributing to the work of the conference.

After the opening address of Mr. Nandorne Sebestyen, chairman of the National Peace Council, Miklos Barabas, secretary general of the NPC, took the floor. He pointed out that the present state of affairs in the world gives us legitimate reasons for concern. Tension has grown, there are greater number of dangers, the promising process of detente has been halted and in many ways reversed. But international tension is not an inevitable feature of our life, nor is it an act of God. The main reason for the heightening of tension is the policy of certain circles in Washington and of NATO that wish to question the historically established status quo and balance which ensure peace, and want to force their concepts on the world through military supremacy. This is the ground where serious challenges take place, starting from the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe to the planned militarization of space.

This is the basic reason for the deterioration of the relations of the two superpowers in the past years and for the lack of meaningful agreements between them, said the general secretary of the NPC, and stated that American challenges inevitably trigger response measures. Therefore the maintenance of balance results in a faster arms race.

"We have to create an atmosphere in which controversial issues can be settled through talks based on equal security which make genuine efforts for a compromise and strengthen international confidence. The proper starting points for this are given: the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and other proposals that take realities into consideration.

"The peace movement has gained a momentum in reply to the imperialist challenges. The peace movement that has evolved in Europe, the United States, Canada and Japan in the period after the war have assumed unprecedented proportions. The Hungarian peace movement does everything in its power to promote [words indistinct] fight of the international peace forces. It is a member of the largest and most extensive peace movement, the World Peace Council, and it takes an active part in developing its targets and programmes, in realizing jointly formulated political actions.

We also have an extensive cooperation policy which offers fine conditions to this end. We make efforts to realize in practice the fundamental principle of seeking the connecting ties, the possibilities of common or parallel action, in an open and sincere manner and by respecting each other's standpoints, with all who genuinely wish peace," said Miklos Barabas.

In the following he said that the Hungarian peace movement considers it one of its major tasks to support efforts aimed at national liberation and strengthening independence, and to contribute to the peaceful settlement of international conflicts through negotiations. Another current task of peace movement is to take initiatives to support the Nicaraguan people in the cross-fire of attacks of imperialism, and to strengthen solidarity with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Speaking of the successes of Hungarian peace movement he said that intellectuals play an active role and religious people and their churches traditionally also take a considerable share in this work. A result of the last few years is that nationalities living in Hungary are increasingly participating in the peace movement.

Initiatives of individuals and communities receive greater scope in the movement, and formalistic elements are pressed back. Enriching the content of the work, encouraging new initiatives and extensively spreading and applying good experiences continue to be pressing tasks. In this interest, support is given to individual peace initiatives of representatives of social groups and employment branches -- for instance, doctors, teachers and physicists. The diversity does not weaken unity, and one of the greatest results is that the widest possible political platform can thus be established in contemporary Hungarian society.

A debate began over the report of Miklos Barabas and the draft of the statement submitted to the conference.

KADAR, LOSONCZI AT PRESIDENTIAL COUNCIL MEETING

LD262354 Budapest MTI in English 1726 GMT 26 Oct 84

[Text] Budapest, October 26 (MTI) -- At its Friday session the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic heard a report by Janos Kadar, first secretary of the HSWP CC and member of the Presidential Council, on his official visit paid to France on October 15-16 on the invitation of Francois Mitterrand, president of the French Republic. The Presidential Council, which evaluated the visit as highly significant, endorsed the report and stated that the visit and talks, having taken place in a tense international situation, well served the enforcement of the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act and promoted understanding between the Hungarian and French peoples, as well as further strengthened political, cultural and economic relations.

Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidental Council, reported on his talks with federal President Rudolf Kirchschlaeger of the Republic of Austria in Sopron and Eisenstadt on October 2. The Presidential Council agreed with the report and stated that relations between Hungary and Austria were steadily developing. The meeting provided an opportunity for the two neighboring countries to promote and further develop good cooperation on a high level.

The Presidential Council passed a statutory rule on the announcement of the agreement on the mutual recognition of secondary school certificates in the Hungarian People's Republic and the Republic of Austria. Under the new rule Austrian and Hungarian secondary school certificates will be regarded as identical at entrance examinations to universities.

The Presidential Council adopted several statutory rules concerning the further development of the economic management system. It amended certain sections of the 6th Act of state-owned companies of 1977. The amendment established new forms of company management: The majority of companies will operate under the management of company councils, the general assembly of employees, and the assembly of workers' delegates. Similarly to the cooperatives, economic partnerships and associations, the companies will be subordinated to legal supervision, instead of the former company-supervision.

In connection with the introduction of the new forms of economic management the Presidential Council modified the rules of the Labour Code on the cooperation of the manager and collectives involved in management.

The Presidential Council amended the 1979 law no. 2 on state finances of 1979, and the 1967 statutory rule no. 36 on the National Bank of Hungary. The new regulations are aimed at increasing the role of financing and credit policies in economic management, and the role of the National Bank of Hungary in the shaping of economic policy, national economic plans, and strengthening the independence of the banking system.

The Presidential Council passed decisions on honors to be awarded on the anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution.

STATE INDUSTRY SECRETARIES RABI, JUHASZ REPLACED

LD262106 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 26 Oct 84

[Excerpts] The Presidential Council held a session today. The Presidential Council made decisions concerning personnel matters. Secretaries of State for Industry Bela Rabi and Adam Juhasz are to be relieved of their posts on 31 October, with recognition of their merits; and from 1 November, Ferenc Horvath is to be appointed state secretary for industry.

SARLOS HEADS DELEGATION TO HAVANA CEMA SESSION

LD271133 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 27 Oct 84

[Text] Headed by Istvan Sarlos, deputy premier, a delegation has left for Havana for the 39th session of the CEMA. Members of the delegation are Ferenc Havasi, secretary of party Central Committee; Jozsef Marjai, deputy premier and our country's permanent CEMA representative; Lajos Faluvegi, chairman of the National Planning Office; and Janos Nagy, state secretary of foreign affairs.

SED'S WILDENHAIN HEADS DELEGATION TO HUNGARY

LD271110 Budapest MTI in English 1017 GMT 27 Oct 84

[Text] Budapest, October 27 (MTI) -- Invited by the HSWP CC a party workers' delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, headed by Heinz Wildenhain, head of CC's department, vitied Hungary from October 22 to 26. The delegation met Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee and held talks on current party economy issues with Laszlo Karakas, head of CC's department.

The delegation, led by Dusan Alimpic, the chairman of the Yugoslav federal parliament, and the Hungarian parliamentary delegation, headed by Speaker Antal Apro, discussed parliamentary relations between the two countries. The head of the Yugoslav delegation was received by President Pal Losonczi and Mr Matyas Szuros, a secretary of the Central Committee responsible for foreign affairs in the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

HUNGARY-MONGOLIA PACT TO STRENGTHEN COOPERATION

LD272102 Budapest MTI in English 1739 GMT 27 Oct 84

[Text] Budapest, October 27 (MTI) _- Deputy Foreign Minister Gabor Nagy and Daramyn Yondon, first deputy of the Mongolian foreign minister, exchanged documents strengthening the friendship and cooperation treaty concluded between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Mongolian People's Republic in Ulaanbaatar on June 1, 1984. The agreement has come into force on the day of exchanging the documents, October 27, 1984.

Daramin Yondon met Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi, and held talks about Hungarian-Mongolian relations and timely international issues. They stated with satisfaction that relations between the two countries are developing successfully.

MSZMP'S SZUROS LEAVES FOR LONDON 28 OCT

LD281202 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 28 Oct 84

[Text] Matyas Szuros has left for London. The secretary of the Central Committee has been invited by the British Government for a 4-day official visit.

MOVE AWAY FROM FREE HEALTH CARE SUGGESTED

LD261943 Budapest in English to Europe 1150 GMT 26 Oct 84

[Text] Some aspects of the health service came under rigorous criticism in the economic weekly HETI VILAGGAZDASAG. A sociologist gives the opinion that the service suffers from the lack of a free choice of doctor by the patient, that neurotic complaints are not always recognised as real medical problems, and that there is a widespread custom of giving doctors so-called gratitude money, in the hope that this will ensure better or priority treatment.

HETI VILAGGAZDASAG claims that the gratitude money payments have reached a point at which many patients due to have operations are giving the surgeon the equivalent of half an average monthly wage, in gratitude money. The magazine estimates that in any one year, the population is giving something like 4,000 million forints to doctors and health workers in this manner. HETI VILAGGAZDASAG (?projects) for discussion the idea of moving slightly away from the present, noncontributory free health care to a system of social insurance contributions. It believes this might aid the health service to eliminate the limitations that lead people to believe that it is necessary to give gratitude money in order to be sure of the best treatment.

LECTURE SERIES ON ECONOMIC MACROMANAGEMENT HELD

AU241349 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 23 Oct 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] A 3-day series of lectures on the further development of the economic macromanagement system, staged by the National Leader Training Center, began on 22 October at the festive hall of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The program will provide extensive information to leaders of enterprises, cooperatives, state administration, banks, and institutes charged with the training of leaders on the further development of the organizational and macromanagement systems, the planned changes of economic regulation, and the most important measures related to them. The series of lectures is part of the work program within whose framework the National Leader Training Center prepares leaders and experts for the tasks arising from the further development of the economic macromanagement system.

On 22 October, Laszlo Ballai, head of the MSZMP Department of Economic Policy; Minister of Finance Istvan Hetenyi; Akos Balassa, head of a major department of the National Planning Office; and Laszlo Horvath, director general of the National Leader Training Center; gave lectures on aspects of economic policy, the fundamental principles of the development of the macromanagement system, and planning systems at various levels. On 23 and 24 October lectures will be given about changes in price policy, enterprise income regulation, and the regulation of earnings, the regulation of foreign trade, the further development of the banking system, and the macromanagement system of enterprises and cooperatives.

In November, as a further juncture of the work program, the lecturers of leader training institutes will be prepared for the new tasks and, subsequently, continuous extended training courses will be held for medium-level leaders and experts.

BUDAPEST DISCUSSES PRC ECONOMIC REFORMS

LD270228 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 26 Oct 84

[Text] The economic reforms announced last week are still the objects of significant opposition in China. This is evident from the latest issue of the central party organ, which takes a stance in favor of the implementation of the system of value and the development of the production of goods. The paper emphasizes that all those who see an intention of restoring capitalism in the new economic aims are guided by prejudice. Observers believe that this statement also proves that the impending changes were approved after much debate even among the highest leadership. The big question, however, is how many people within the party will support the reform, because half the membership joined the party during the Cultural Revolution, which rejected balanced development.

INVESTIGATION CONTINUES IN PRIEST'S KIDNAPPING

PZPR CC Adopts Statement

LD262323 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 2106 GMT 26 Oct 84

[Text] On the first day of Central Committee plenum discussions, the plenum unanimously adopted a statement:

In connection with the recently committed dangerous, provocative crime of abducting Father Jerzy Popieluszko, the PZPR Central Committee states the following:

1. Socialist Poland can only be a lawful Poland. Diversion, provocation, and terror have always been and are completely alien to the Leninist ideology and morality of our party. They are equally completely alien to Polish culture, to the centuries-old traditions of tolerance.

2. Activities at odds with the law strike against the line of socialist renewal worked out by the party at the ninth congress. It strikes against the entire party, its leadership, our state, and society. It also strikes against the process of international stabilization, church-state relations, and Poland's international prestige.

3. The Central Committee resolutely rejects and condemns all unlawful deeds and methods of action both on the part of representatives of the authorities and citizens. The Central Committee states with all force that there will be no leniency for anarchy and terrorism in any form.

4. The Central Committee asks the prosecution and law administration organs for a rapid completion of the investigation into Father Popieluszko's abduction, to definitively ascertain the direct and possible indirect perpetrators of this crime, for their severe punishment, and for regular reporting of the above to the public.

5. The Central Committee obliges the Politburo to examine under special procedure the problem of party and official supervision in respect of selected areas of sociopolitical life, particularly its internal security. Conclusions arising from this analysis, including those regarding personnel, should be presented at a session of the Central Committee in the shortest possible time.

6. At the same time the Central Committee expresses full confidence in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, to its devoted and selfless personnel led by Comrade Czeslaw Kiszczak, candidate member of the Central Committee Politburo and minister of internal affairs, who is directing in a vigorous and principled manner the search for Father Popieluszko and the activities which have led to the early apprehension of perpetrators. The Citizens' Militia, the Security Service, and all the links for the protection of public order and state stability are fulfilling their civic and official duty in a worthy manner and fully deserve public respect and confidence. Several criminals, provocateurs, and agents with an evil cause do not alter this general assessment.

7. The Central Committee authorizes the Politburo to take all essential steps to maintain law and order in the state and a sense of security for its citizens.

8. The Central Committee appeals to all members of the party, the whole of society, and the state authorities to firmly oppose attempts by the enemies of People's Poland to prey on a provocative crime and people's feelings and emotions with the aim of disrupting calm and violating the country's internal stability.

Interior Minister Speaks

LD272002 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 27 Oct 84

[Speech over linkup of Polish radio and television by General Czeslaw Kiszczak, minister of internal affairs, on the results of the investigation into the kidnapping of Father Jerzy Popieluszko -- live]

[Text] Today, it is my lot to have to perform an exceptionally difficult and bitter duty, namely to present the results to date connected with the kidnapping of Father Jerzy Popieluszko. This has shaken the Polish public. In our history and in our political culture, acts of this kind have hitherto been unknown. This act has also evoked extensive international repercussions.

Let me start with the basic information. On 19 October, late in the evening, in (?Przysiek) near Torun, Father Jerzy Popieluszko from Warsaw was kidnapped. Great forces and means of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and of related services were immediately set in motion to find the victim and catch the perpetrators. A special operational investigative group was set up. We appealed to the public for assistance. Thousands of tips and pieces of information from citizens were received. The mass media, within the limits that make for a good investigation, reported on the progress made in solving this intricate case. These activities resulted in the prompt location and arrest of those who kidnapped Father Jerzy Popieluszko.

I have to state, with the greatest sorrow, that they are three young functionaries of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The one who organized the kidnapping is Captain Grzegorz Piotrowski, 33, head of a section at one of the departments of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. He was educated as a mathematician and has been employed at the ministry for 9 years.

The accomplices are: Lieutenant Waldemar Chmielewski, 29, who has a higher education and has been employed at the ministry for 7 years; and Lieutenant Lieszek Pekala, 32, who was educated as an electronics expert and has been employed at the ministry for 7 years.

They all worked in the section headed by Grzegorz Piotrowski.

They were detained on the basis of the preliminary results of the investigation. After necessary proof was obtained, they were put under investigative arrest following a decision by the prosecutor.

They were accused of having abducted Father Jerzy Popieluszko and, should further investigation bear this out, they will also be accused of other crimes outlined in the Penal Code.

Unfortunately, I presently cannot give information or even sufficiently credible suppositions regarding the fate of the kidnap victim. The suspects have made extremely differing depositions during the investigations, and alter and retract them again and again. So far they have refused to reveal numerous important details which could facilitate the search for Father Popieluszko.

One of the legitimate hypotheses of the investigation is that the victim of the kidnapping is dead. One of the perpetrators testifies that, following the kidnapping, Father Popieluszko **was released alive in a suburb** of Torun. Prolonged searches of this region -- using considerable forces and resources -- have so far failed to yield results.

The organizer of the kidnapping states, however, that he personally took the victim's life. The region in which the crime is thought to have been committed has also been painstakingly searched. No traces have been found. I would like to reaffirm that the PPR Government and above all the Ministry of Internal Affairs will be unstinting in their efforts to definitively determine the fate of Father Jerzy Popieluszko and to clear up this whole, atrocious affair. No one can disappear without a trace in Poland. Our country is not, and will not be, a lawless jungle.

Once again I earnestly appeal to every citizen for cooperation in finding Father Jerzy Popieluszko, if he is still among the living.

The question of the motives and aims of this provocation is understandably preying on all our minds. Also in this respect, the suspects' statements are divergent, incoherent, and not fully credible. The organizer of the abduction maintains that his act was caused by the provocative political activity of Father Popieluszko, the authorities' activity against which he deemed to be ineffective. The other two testify that they, in good faith, were carrying out their superior's order. All of the suspects are unwillingly and evasively answering questions on the motive for their act.

At present there is insufficient information to either eliminate or confirm the participation of other persons in organizing the abduction. This is the subject of an especially intensive investigation. In particular, we are trying to determine who, if anybody, was the covert inspirer of this crime, and who, if anybody, has shielded its perpetrators. I hereby state that the answer to these questions will be reported to the public after the completion of the investigative and procedural activities. In a law-abiding state, and the PPR is such a state and must remain so, there are no persons above the law.

As transpires from the progress of the investigation so far, the perpetrators' intentional activities, calculated to point the investigation as soon as possible toward the hypothesis that the perpetrators of the abduction were officers of the Internal Affairs Ministry, are striking.

For example, they purposefully left a militiaman's eagle [cap badge] at the kidnapping site. They also illegally used Citizens' Militia [MO] equipment. This makes clear the premeditated and well-prepared provocation in their action. Its organizer testified that he planned it for a long time.

At present, his personal connections are being examined. I want to emphasize that the investigation into this complicated case is still in a preliminary stage. The suspects have been in jail for only several days. A very detailed and time-consuming forensic investigation still continues.

The perpetrators of the kidnapping are aware that should their guilt be proved in court, the sentence of capital punishment is possible. Perhaps, this is why they change their statements, attempting to direct the investigation.

The kidnapping of Father Popieluszko has nothing to do with the methods used by the party in resolving political conflicts. On the contrary, this unprecedented provocation jeopardizes policy of accord, threatens the line of renewal, and in consequence, threatens socialist Poland.

The truth, even the most painful, must not be concealed. At the same time, however, it must not be manipulated. One must not draw groundless and general conclusions from an isolated case, as is done by enemies of the people's authorities who accuse the Ministry of Internal Affairs of impairing socialist law observance.

The role of Father Zych in the murder of MO Senior Sergeant Karos is well known. However, no thinking person generalizes his attitude toward the clergy as a whole; nobody attempts to organize, against the backdrop of this tragedy, events that disturb law and order.

Nor is it permissible to identify the unpardonable act of individual officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs with the entire apparatus of public security and order. The doubts of the general public, the outrage and alarm, are understandable. But I caution: Do not let the enemies of the state, the cynical gamesters prey upon this human tragedy. Do not permit them to incite the community to antistate activities.

I declare with full emphasis and with a complete sense of responsibility that the three officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs who are suspected of having committed this revolting crime acted in contravention of the political line of the party and the government, which is binding upon the ministry. The burden of this provocation is felt by the public, by party members and nonparty members, believers and nonbelievers, but it is particularly painful for the devoted, selfless, valuable employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. They are a worthy part of our society, within which, as in every other society, there are irresponsible and dishonest individuals. It would be naive to expect that the Ministry of Internal Affairs, in particular, would be completely free of those susceptible to corruption. We are fully aware of this and draw the appropriate conclusions.

On several occasions I have informed the PPR Sejm and the public of the process of continual self-cleansing in our ministry. During the last 2 years, some 2,464 officials were dismissed from the ranks of the MO and the Security Service [SB], having proved that they violated the legal order and official discipline, that they transgressed against the standards of social life among people, and overstepped their official authority. The majority of these were dismissed from the service at the submission of officers' and comrades' honor courts or party organizations. This is a natural process, and we shall continue it. Eight hundred and seventy-two officials have borne penal responsibility. The most important thing, however, is that the MO and SB apparatus has proved on a sufficient number of occasions that it acts decently and honestly, with unstinting efforts; and on more than one occasion, evincing particular selflessness to keep the state secure and to protect the life, health, and property of citizens. This also applies to the personal security of members of the clergy and church property.

Only last year, 3 functionaries of the ministry gave their lives in pursuit of criminals and 201 were wounded. Of these, seven were wounded seriously and maimed permanently. The PPR is and will be, must be, a law-abiding country. Our penal law envisages serious consequences for crimes against the fundamental national interests, for premeditated action against the Polish reason of state. The Ministry of Internal Affairs is not and will not be an oasis in which laws established by the Sejm do not apply or apply only partially. In our difficult, responsible, extremely exhausting, and often dangerous activity, we understand our fundamental duty to serve the nation which gave us birth, and with whom we are indivisible, from the youngest militiaman by age and rank, to ministry leadership.

We now draw all possible conclusions from this provocative affair. We are undertaking an enormous amount of political and educational work among all the employees and functionaries of our ministry. The services which are subordinate to me will neglect nothing in order to establish to the very end the truth about the kidnapping of Father Jerzy Popieluszko. The kidnapping perpetrators will bear the severe penalty as envisaged by the law, and the background of their crime will be explained publicly.

'Solidarity' Figure Speaks

LD272312 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 27 Oct 84

[Text] And now a report by PAP: The Warsaw Voivodship Prosecutor's Office lets it be known that on 27 October Seweryn Jaworski, who was in the presbytery of the church consecrated to Saint Stanislaw Kostka in Warsaw, invited Western journalists there. He announced that he represented Solidarity. Western press agencies have reported that Seweryn Jaworski announced the following:

Father Jerzy Popieluszko is alive and is being detained by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. He is threatened with expulsion from the country. Highly placed ministry functionaries who are desirous of bloodshed are behind this.

Western press agencies disseminated this revelation, quoting Jaworski throughout the entire world.

As things progress, determining Father Jerzy Popieluszko's whereabouts is fundamental. The Warsaw Voivodship Prosecutor's Office summoned Seweryn Jaworski at 1530 hours today in order to discover what he bases his information on -- information he was making public.

Seweryn Jaworski did not comply with the summons of the prosecutor's office. In this connection, measures outlined in the law will be undertaken against Seweryn Jaworski.

Witness Identifies Suspects

LD282002 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Oct 84

[Text] With reference to earlier information on the results of the investigation into the kidnapping of Father Jerzy Popieluszko, the Ministry of Internal Affairs reports that further investigation procedures have been carried out. Those suspected of the kidnapping as well as other persons were shown to Waldemar Chrostowski, the driver of the car in which Father Popieluszko was traveling. Waldemar Chrostowski identified the perpetrators of the kidnapping from among the people shown to him.

Forensic identification tests are being carried out. Other witnesses who have knowledge about the kidnapping are being interrogated. The wide-ranging search for Father Jerzy Popieluszko is continuing.

PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE HOLDS 17TH PLENUM

CC Members, Others Participate

LD261140 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 26 Oct 84

[Excerpt] The latest proceedings of the PZPR Central Committee got underway 2 hours ago. Over to the hall where the proceedings are taking place:

[Unidentified reporter] Taking part in the proceedings, apart from members and candidate members of the Central Committee, are representatives of the government, the political parties, the leaderships of the trade unions, the local administration, young people, and scientific milieus. The proceedings were opened by General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and premier.

Jaruzelski Speech Opens Plenum

LD261642 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1305 GMT 26 Oct 84

["Excerpts" of speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, opening the 17th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee on 26 October -- recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrades: I am opening the deliberations of the 17th plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee. The theses of the Politburo referring to key problems of strengthening the state, the development of socialist democracy, and the consolidation of law, order, social order, and discipline were sent out a few days ago to members of the central echelons of the party and were then published in TRYBUNA LUDU. This is a detailed and, we think, proper way of expressing and stating these important matters. We are tackling them at a particular stage of our development. It requires a thorough analysis and, stemming from this, long-term tasks and proposals. This is also why the 17th plenum is, on the one hand, a form of partial assessment of the implementation of the resolution of the ninth congress, and, on the other, constitutes an important preparatory element for the 10th congress and for the long-term program of the party. This places highly responsible duties on us.

We are still grappling with a whole host of challenges and problems which have not been solved or which have not been solved sufficiently. In order to come to terms with and overcome them we have to intensify our ability to act effectively and to translate into reality all the potential possibilities inherent in our society, and we have to resolutely combat everything that poisons and inflames the social atmosphere, that violates the elementary norms of law and order, and that thereby strikes against the line of the ninth congress, against socialist renewal, and against the policy of our party and against its leadership. It is in this conviction that I propose that the Central Committee adopt during the present session a condemnatory stance toward the act of menacing banditry which has so stirred the public opinion of our country.

Dear comrades: We are marching along the road mapped out by the ninth congress, a road of socialist renewal. We are not achieving progress easily, but it can be perceived in virtually all spheres.

Positive trends both in the economic sphere and in the sphere of the superstructure are gradually accumulating. The social feeling of realism and responsibility is greater. There is more social activity and initiative. It is our task to accelerate the tempo and rhythm of, and above all increase the effectiveness of these positive processes and phenomena. At the same time we ought all to eradicate the evil, of which there is still so much, in a more principled manner. The most important and fundamental thing is to acquire more and more understanding and social confidence for the policies of the party and for our intentions and activities.

The 17th plenum of the Central Committee ought to become an important step along this road.

Czyrek Delivers Report

LD261150 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0910 GMT 26 Oct 84

[Report by Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at the 17th PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw -- live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades: In implementing the policy of the Ninth PZPR Congress, the program of socialist renewal, we have made important and profound changes in the state's operation in recent years. The material already sent to the comrades and published in the party press entitled "Key problems in the strengthening of the state, in the Development of Socialist Democracy, and in the Consolidation of the Rule of Law, Order, and Social Discipline" present the Politburo stance regarding the most important aspects of this issue, which is fundamental from the viewpoint of the theory and praxis of socialism. Referring to this report today, we wish to focus the Central Committee members' attention on the evaluation of what progress we have achieved, what obstacles we are encountering and what their causes are, what problems urgently require solution, and what tasks ensue for our party as a whole.

The state is the most universal organization of the nation, encompassing all citizens. The character of our state system is set forth in the Constitution. Its first article states that the PPR is a socialist state; in the PPR, power is in the hands of the working people of the towns and countryside. Enriched by the experience of recent years, we have developed these fundamental principles of the system by the statement: The PPR realizes the nationwide aspirations of the working class, draws on its achievements and activity, broadens the workers' share in dealing with the affairs of the state, of society, and of the economy, and consolidates the worker-peasant alliance. In questions of the state, power, and people's rule, our party bases itself on Marxist-Leninist theory. [Word indistinct] specific solutions, we act in accordance with its general, universal rules, discovering and improving forms for them, which correspond to the historically fashioned conditions of the construction of socialism in Poland. In our country we have realized most of the tasks belonging to the period of the transition from capitalism to socialism. Socialist relations have established themselves in the economy, which they dominate. They create a lasting foundation for the socialist solutions with respect to the system in sociopolitical life. However, remnants of the antagonistic, class contradictions still exist. The nonantagonistic differences and contradictions between the interests of individual classes and strata of the working people also manifest themselves and will persist through long historical periods in conditions of class struggle; the surmounting and harmonization of the latter, nonantagonistic factors is the fundamental task for the socialist state, which is being realized under the party's lead. The consistent combating of various forms of exploitation and of other violations of the principles governing social justice is connected with this, as are the increasingly full introduction of socialist principles governing labor and distribution and the creation of conditions for ever increasingly activity by classes and popular struggles. One of the main tasks arising from this is the dissemination of socialist consciousness and the countering of the influence of bourgeois ideology.

In implementing all these tasks, the party and state are guided by the aspirations and strivings of the working class. These aspirations and strivings amount to the construction of society of social justice. In this sense of the word, our state is fulfilling the function of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which intertwines with its national functions at its present stage of socialist development. This is a natural consequence of the fact that workers as well as peasants and the intelligentsia constitute a huge majority of the nation and determine the nation's social complexion.

The development and strengthening of a socialist state requires closely linked and mutually interrelated activities. The creation of conditions in which working people play an increasingly greater role in government and have more influence on public matters occupies a special position. The development of socialist democracy, a resolution of the ninth congress states, is indispensable for the political system under socialism. It is also necessary to strengthen the internal function of the safeguarding of the socialist system, which is the source and guarantee of our democracy. Thus the system has to be defended so that it can develop. This is the significance of the experiences of 1980-81, when we had to stand up to the mass attack of internal and external opponents against the system-based foundations of our state. It was necessary to introduce martial law in defense of the state and the economy. This decision was taken in defense of the program of socialist renewal, which was necessitated by concern over ensuring conditions for the indispensable reforms and democratic changes.

Despite the fact that the opponent has considerably weakened, he is not abandoning his attempts to disrupt normalization. In these activities he is being actively supported by centers of anticommunist subversion abroad. Therefore, in the further consistent implementation of the policy of the ninth congress, the slogan of "Both more agreement and more struggle" must remain binding. This is what we stated at the 12th plenum.

The coalition method of government and the participation of nonparty people in this government arose from historical conditions and experiences and from the programmatic achievements of the parties which proceeded our party. This has passed the test as a platform for uniting social aspirations and national energy by the fact that all classes and popular strata participate in government. The entire nature of the alliance between our party and the ZSL and the SD promotes this. The fact that the allied parties and nonparty people jointly shape the policy of the state while also recognizing the PZPR's leading role forms their foundation. These alliances are not subject to short-term changes of front and are not torn apart by electoral competition as in bourgeois systems.

The experiences of the past few years have also demonstrated the needs and possibilities of further cooperation with associations of Catholics and lay Christians. The party considers that such a method of governing is of permanent and invaluable value. Such a method expands the social base of people's power and makes the socialist state stronger through the support and cooperation of all progressive and patriotic forces of the nation that favor the program of socialist renewal.

Agitation for bourgeois political pluralism, which is praised to high heaven by our opponents as supposedly being the most democratic way of governing, will be of no avail. The bourgeois state needs such pluralism because it promotes the consolidation of the psuedodemocratic facade without threatening its class essence. The bourgeois parties and their reformist allies act in concert to politically isolate the parties of the left, particularly the communists. And when the revolutionary left becomes the key political force, as in Chile, with open cynicism and brutality the bouregoisie sheds the pluralist facade and replaces it with an unconcealed dicatorship. In Poland our opponents advance in place of this the slogan of so-called trade union pluralism. This has nothing in common with concern for the rights of the working people. The latter are best protected by the development and realization of socialist democracy, including the establishment of self-management and the implementation of considerably expanded union rights. Under the cloak of pluralism the opponents only desire, as in the years 1980-81, to obtain liberty to practice their destructive activity. We will never agree to a repetition of the experiences of that period. The costs borne by the public and the state are fresh in our memory. The price is still being paid today.

We draw conclusions from the lessons of the past and implement them. The report of the Central Committee commission set up to assess the reasons for social conflicts in People's Poland and their course, which was adopted at the 12th Central Committee plenum, the analyses and conclusions reached during the work of the Sejm and of its Commission for Constitutional Responsibilities are of great importance for the correct formation of our policies in all areas. The Politburo and the government treat them with all seriousness and take them into account in their practical activity. This testifies to our determination to never permit the negative phenomena and tendencies of the past to return. The line of socialist renewal is binding on all the echelons and organizations of the PZPR and on all party members. It must be implemented to its full extent by all. It is incumbent on us all to support it through our attitude at the posts assigned us.

Comrades: The organic link between the state's strength and ability to rule and socialist democracy will not implement itself automatically. It depends to a large degree on the effective political and organizational work of the party -- work which will create the climate and conditions for public activity and for citizens' engagement in the work of the representative bodies, in the various self-management cells. We will take care to see that their activity is respected, that their opinions are considered in depth, and that democratically made decisions are adhered to and effectively executed.

The front of the party's actions is being broadened with the aim of rendering the work of the state bodies more efficient, of increasing the requirements made of them, while also building up their prestige among the public. The party is becoming the prime mover of processes that serve to improve the law, to consolidate the rule of law and social discipline. With close adherence to principle, we must exact from our members action that accords with the rule of law. Profound changes are underway in the functioning of the state and its bodies. Even though this process is not yet complete, legislation has already created a new legal and political structure for the functioning of a well-ruled and efficient state of socialist democracy. The influence that working people wield over the shaping of the state's policies is increasing. The principle of ascertaining the public's opinion before making important decisions is establishing itself. The superior authority of the elected, representative bodies of the authorities vis-a-vis the administration, which performs an executive function, is being strengthened. The powers of the people's councils have been considerably extended. Tenants' self-management has gained new rights, and with them broader opportunities to influence the resolution of the problems that concern the local community. Its bodies -- the housing estate committees and the elders' councils -- are becoming the extended, self-managing arm of the people's councils. Taken together with the development of workers' and cooperative self-management and of other self-management institutions, this means an unprecedented broadening of citizens' opportunities to participate in the joint managment in practice of all areas of social, economic, and cultural life.

These changes do not occur on an even front. We have already achieved a great deal in some areas, while in others we are only just taking the first steps. The most important task at present is to accelerate the implementation of the new political and legal solutions in public practice. It is this practice that is of crucial significance. Resolutions alone are not the yardstick of the effectiveness of the party's activities -- rather, the measure effects perceptible to citizens, and opportunities for the working class and all social circles to influence public affairs that are not just proclaimed but, above all, are exploited. The role of the cells and of party people in this process has to be understood as one of inspiring and organizing activities to this end, of overcoming the checks and obstacles, and of convincing others through one's own example. The trust that the majority of the public showed in the elections to the people's councils must be reflected in increasingly effective activity of the local bodies of the authorities and of the administration to resolve local issues and implement national ventures.

The public's expectations in regard to the energetic activities of the new councils are enormous. Those writing to the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers bear this out. This is why the good start made by many councils in tackling these difficult tasks inspires us with optimism. Most people's councils have already adopted action programs, have determined priorities for and ways of implementing the postulates and suggestions expressed during the election campaign, and have discussed the provisions of voivodship socioeconomic plans and budgets for next year. A start has been made on resolving urgent social and economic problems.

The most important thing is that councils at all levels should, with the same energy as they tackle difficult problems, implement their resolutions and decisions and should in various forms ensure the ordinary links between councillors and the electorate. The Council of State, which on the strength of the Constitution exercises supreme supervision over people's councils, has a special task to fulfill in ensuring that the councils do their work in this manner and in disseminating good experience.

We see a need for influencing the constant increase in the stature of Sejm deputies and councillors. Support for democratic forms for providing inspiration for and monitoring of the administration by deputies and councillors, including their asking questions and intervention to ensure that there is more information, are only some of the arguments in favor of having statutory regulations for the rights and duties of the members of representative organs of power. However, without waiting for a statute to appear, they should already be making use of their rights in an active, bold and sensible way.

Toward the end of the current year, elections will be held for local self-governments in towns and in the countryside. The housing area committees to be elected will have the right to express preliminary opinions in matters concerning the hiring and firing of managers of units which manage houses, of administrators, and of caretakers; concerning the setting of working hours for trading and health service centers; and in matters concerning building repairs, the location of bus and streetcar stops, and the use of funds for social care. Rural administrative councils will gain the right to conduct social control over all centers whose activities are connected with the living conditions of the rural population and to assess the implementation of proposals resulting from checks carried out.

Increased rights entails enhanced responsibility of self-governments to local pockets of population in regard to the solution of matters which have a significant effect on the conditions and atmosphere of everyday life. The highest echelon in the structure of self-governments is the general meeting of the population of the housing development or village. In essence, this is an invitation to all citizens without exception to have a say in matters of importance to everyone, and to play a role in the implementation of decisions jointly adopted. This significant step in the development of people's power defines the importance of the approaching elections to housing self-governments.

There is not yet full understanding of this matter. Not all the people's councils responsible for organizing the elections have begun essential action. Too little is being done to create wide public understanding of the new role and rights of local self-management, to popularize the bill and the model drafts of the statute, to propose social activists as candidates for the housing development committees and the elders' councils, including many nonparty people who enjoy confidence and esteem. We make it incumbent on all echelons and organizations, and on the party members in general, to participate actively in the elections to the tenants' self-managements.

Comrades: All the forms of social self-management must become an area for party initiatives and activity on a larger scale than to date. We state our support for the full exploitation of the rights to which they are entitled. What is at stake is an activity that is not just apparent but real. Self-management fulfills its social role when, from its on-the-spot position, it uses its own resources, without looking to others, and resolves the important problems of the environment within which it functions; when it ensures that these decisions are implemented in practice through joint participation in specific actions and through monitoring them as they progress.

Self-management means joint responsibility. It does not always happen this way. For instance, the expectations and assurances that increased self-management in the higher educational institutions would improve the quality and effectiveness of studies and would improve the organization of academic research that it yielded objective effects have not been sufficiently fulfilled. There are people in certain circles in the higher educational establishments who divert attention from essential issues, who attempt to exploit self-management for activity that contravenes the spirit and letter of the law on higher education, and who oppose the educational policy of the state. All self-managements must observe the inviolable principle of the system that, in a socialist state, power is uniform. We have resolutely combated the program of the so-called self-managing republic, which was prompted by a desire to struggle against socialist socialism. This program expresses the anarchist idea of opposing the self-managements and social organizations to the bodies of the state authorities. Calculations that these notions will be realized have no chance here. The echelons, organizations, aktivs, and party members have an obligation to participate actively in the work of the self-managements, an obligation to influence their character in a spirit of responsibility, and to reconcile the interests of the local and works community with the general national interests. The workers' and cooperative self-managements have a particularly important role to play in the process of economic reform: one of rousing the administration and the work force to productive management, improving organization, and raising morale at work to follow up initiatives with specific results.

Generally speaking, relations between the bodies of administration and self-management are assuming a proper form. In the majority of cases cooperation between workers councils and enterprise managements is assuming proper form. We are critically assessing all cases in which the rights of self-management are not observed. All suggestions in this sphere are analyzed with attention and in depth, and appropriate actions are taken.

In the Politburo material which was sent to you, comrades, we characterized the role of various social organizations in our state. All accounts stress the crucial significance of the development of the trade union in its new programmatic, legal, institutional, and organizational form. The party declares itself in favor of the continuation and deepening of the adopted direction of that development. It strives for energetic, active, independent, and self-managing unions to be efficient advocates of the interests of the working people. However, at the same time they should fight with equal involvement for a high level of professional ethics and labor discipline, for an increase in and the effectiveness of production. The view that the defense of workers' interests is our workers' task, and the increase of labor productivity and the level of management is their task, or the task of the state, is wrong. In the socialist state they are all our tasks. The majority of each work force is suffering the effects of idleness, negligence, waste, and defective production, as are working people in general. Each violation of human dignity and principles of justice, and callousness toward workers' complaints in the sphere of living and working conditions harms the socialist state and is directed against its principles and tasks. The state is interested in trade unions that are strong and able to fight for their cause. The trade unions should be interested in a strong and efficient state, able to fully secure workers' interests.

The social and professional organizations of farmers should better perform their important fuction of securing the interests of the countryside and activities serving the development of agriculture. Scientific. technological, and creative associations on their side have a much greater role to play in involving the intelligentsia in resolving the matters of development of science, technology, and culture and in presenting the opinions and resolutions of these circles. We also deem as necessary the increased participations of the women's movement and various social organizations in many spheres of public and state life. The idea of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] in building accord in matters of utmost importance for Poland, such as activation of professional and local circles in public life, in various cells of socialist democracy, and in developing valuable initiatives, is proving correct. PRON's assessment and its role in expressing and shaping public opinion have been presented in the theses of the Politburo for this plenum. We highly value PRON activity in the creation and continued expansion of levels of genuine discussion, contributing to the mitigation and elimination of divisions in society, both those still existing and those being artificially induced.

We will support ventures that promote unificaiton in actions that benefit a nation of people with various motives and views and who also recognize the supreme good of socialist Poland. The important initiative of the national school-aid campaign is an example of specific action that integrates society. We are counting on the active participation of PRON cells in the elections to the tenants' self-managements and on a continued presence in the future activity of that movement's activists.

Comrades: Our party has assumed the obligation of obtaining the opinions of working people before it makes decisions on fundamental political, social, and economic issues. Decision-making practice is tending in this direction. The wide range of consultations on the 1985 central annual plan and on the ways of resolving the problems raised at the 16th Cental Committee plenum is well known. Consultations were held on this latter issue in 761 enterprises employing more than 2 million employees; more than 250,000 persons spoke out in discussions. More than a third of these were nonparty people. This consultation yielded an extraordinary wealth of material depicting the workers' stance on many important issues. The results of the consultations indicate that the overwhelming majority of workers favor economic reform and its consistent implementation,the unflinching application of the (?principles) adopted for the functioning of enterprises, including the principles of supervision by a commissar, and bankruptcy. Proposals aimed at strengthening the links between the people's councils and the enterprises and work forces have met with the approval of the majority, as have the setting up of worker-peasant inspections; the rebirth of the movement for outstanding workers in forms that correspond to current conditions; a tougher line on parasitism and on abuses that appear in the private sector and other branches of the economy.

However, the degree of acceptance of the proposed solutions for consultation varied. Opinions were divided on certain issues, such as the system of acceptance for higher educational institutions. On the important issue of changing the Labor Code to bring its regulations into line with the principles of the economic reform, the majority of those questions adopted a negative stance. This demonstrates the complexity of the process whereby decisions are made on the basis of the results of consultation. The principle of consultation does not mean making every decision dependent on social moods, which after all, vary. One cannot avoid unpopular decisions, for which support in their first phase is limited, or which are even opposed by a portion of society, if such decisions are strategically essential for the future. In such cases we clearly and openly present and explain the motives for our stance.

In recent years we have done much to propagate openness in political and socioeconomic life and to develop the institutional forms whereby public opinion is expressed. Extensive and adequate information about the activities and intentions of the party, of the state authorities , and of individual ministries about the motives for resolutions and decisions being made is issued in various forms. In this sphere more initiative than hitherto ought to be displayed by the party at the local level. Representatives of voivodship, local, and factory echelons are obliged to exploit all opportunities for presenting and substantively justifying what the party undertakes, to inform people about the results of its work, and to present problems which require solution.

Comrades: We do not need to prove how much a good and efficient administration means to the public. We consider that our administration is performing its role increasingly well despite the existence of many shortcomings, of which we are aware and which are trying to eliminate. It has already played a considerable joint role in maintaining the continuity of the activity of state structures and institutions during the most difficult period when the opponent tried to paralyze and smash them. We remember this and are full of recognition for this stance.

Much has changed in the work of administration organs in the last few years. The forms of government are being simplified and optimized. The principles governing the work of state employees, their tasks and powers have been codified and put in order in statutory form. Enhancing the ideological and professional training of the cadres of state administration, training them in a spirit of social sensitivity, goodwill toward citizens, and responsibility for dealing with matters in a just, honest, and timely manner, and increasing the part they play in the processes of consolidating law, order, and social discipline are continuous and daily tasks.

In defending the good name of the administration as a whole, we are intensifying our policy against specific weaknesses, acts of negligence and failings, and in particular against violations of law and order. The work of quite a few echelons of the administration, especially of offices that have direct contact with the public, gives rise to justified criticism in many cases. Bureaucratic habits which are still being eradicated too slowly are still being experienced. On occasion citizens, even in regard to the simplest of matters, have to walk from one minor office to another, going around in circles, completing overly long applications and statements, and collecting more signatures and stamps when an identification card should be enough.

For 3 years now the central organs of the administration have done much to change this state of affairs. Approximately one-third of superfluous regulations and obsolete instructions have been annulled. The process of countering bureaucratic delay requires the simplification of structures, the precise definition of powers, an improvement in internal labor organization, and an intensified struggle against deficiencies in all local offices. Consistent checks by people's councils and their commissions are of great importance here.

We do not wish the administration to be expensive, but there must be conditions necessary to ensure that highly qualified, talented and ambitious people apply for work in the state administration, starting with the parishes.

We have inherited many weaknesses from previous periods in the sphere of control, in the broad sense of the word. We are building an integral system of control and shall continuously improve this system. Thorough and effective control from both above and below creates barriers against degeneration and favors and, if necessary, induces cathartic and streamlining activities.

The low effectiveness of internal control, which as a condition for the proper implementation of tasks ought to be the most widespread form of control, is the main weakness. As for external inspections, the management responsible is still frequently failing to properly treat the conclusions and information that follow from the inspection. This happens in particular when the conclusions indicate a need to punish those guilty of slackness. A frequent reaction is to attempt to defend, blot out the matter, or even sweep it under the carpet. There are times when this is supported by the party echelons. This is impermissible; a resolute bringing to account of the guilty parties is required. In cases in which there are members of the PZPR, this applies to party people, too. Only a determined application of the conclusions that follow from inspections can destroy the view, still encountered, that there are people in Poland beyond the reach of inspection, and can frustrate calculations that work can be replaced by an arrangement. The recent stance adopted by the Politburo stressed the need to further develop the inspecting activity of people's councils, in particular in the social and self-management bodies. Good preconditions for this are created by the new legal solutions. The inspection function ought to assume a position in full keeping with the statutory norms in the activity of all party organizations. We pin considerable hopes on the setting up of worker-peasant inspection bodies which, equipped with the appropriate prerogatives, ought to become the nucleus of social inspection and uniformly direct the activity of its entire system.

Inspections ought to uncover all irregularities. However, they can only be effectively eliminated through unswerving adherence to the principle that no offense revealed through inspection should go unpunished. Every conclusion from the inspection must be implemented. Let us stress this: every one. Thus, this also applies to those conclusions that serve to bring to light and to propagate good experiences and provide the basis for awards, prizes, and promotion. Inspections ought not just uncover negative examples, but the positive heroes too.

Comrades: Increasing the part played by the young in sociopolitical life is an issue of crucial importance for Poland's future. Gathering experience of participation in socialist democracy, in the work of the representative bodies, in self-management units, is a prerequisite for preparing the next generation well for their future responsibility for the state. The problems faced by young people in acquiring an education and obtaining a start in life and their professions are by no means easy or narrow problems. The party and state authorities, as well as the young people themselves and their organizations, are concerned to an ever greater extent in solving such problems. However, the young should not be confined to such narrow horizons, nor should they confine themselves there. They must find an increasingly broad area at all levels of social life today. Accomplishing this is as important a task for the socialist youth unions as resolving social, welfare, professional, and cultural problems of the younger generation. Much needs to be done here, considering that participation by the young in many of the state or self-management bodies is inadequate, and that in certain bodies -- for example, in the people's councils -- it has even declined. Expansion of this representation cannot however simply be decreed, because that would contradict the principles of socialist democracy.

The young must use their activity, initiative, and commitment to carve out a proper place for themselves: They must use their positive strength to break through. In the struggle for a high position for the younger generation -- obtained through an increasingly large work contribution -- within social life and the state, for serious treatment of the voice of the young, the socialist youth unions ought to draw on the resolute support of our party at every step.

The leaders of the party and the administration do not always foster an atmosphere in the circles in which the young live and work that is favorable to this. Such action should not be delayed. Anyone in the party who fails to grasp the importance of winning the young over to our program is basically failing to understand.

From the broad range of rights to which everyone is entitled today, there follows an appropriate sphere of responsibility and duties for everyone. There are no divisions into those who exclusively direct and those who exclusively perform. In a state that is a socialist democracy, Norwid's [mid-19th century Polish poet] reflection, to the effect that "the homeland is a great collective duty" acquires a practical dimension. Social awareness is not yet impregnated with this great truth to a sufficient degree. Dissemination of this truth is one of the fundamental tasks for the ideological and educatonal work of the party and of all the links of the socialist political system.

Esteemed comrades: The socialist system aims at ensuring for working people real rights, the majority of which the capitalist world is unable to guarantee. The socialist conception of the rights of man differs from the bourgeois one in not restricting itself to formal political rights. It secures the people's right to a life in dignity in all the spheres of material and intellectual life. It does not restrict itself to the proclamation of this right but truly realizes it through the activity of the socialist state. It is our ideology, our system, that has raised the dignity of the working man and his aspiration to social equality to the level of a supreme standard. It has proclaimed the right to life in peace, the right to work, the right to health protection, rest, and security in old age or in case of illness, the right to an education and training and to participate in culture, the right to participate in public life: in sum, many rights that do not depend on the privilege of possession. The rights of man and of the citizen, and their genuine accessibility, are provided for by the socialist state through the performance of its domestic and external functions -- its socioeconomic, social, cultural, and educational functions. The broad range of these rights is unchanging, but the degree to which they are realized increases as the material base develops. The more society produces, the greater the resources that can be set aside for social, economic, cultural, and educational activity. Thus it is the national income, which comprises the work of all citizens, which determines the standard and quality of the majority of their basic rights. Thus society itself determines them -- every member of society -- through his activity at work. The task and duty of the socialist state is to create the conditions in which that work is organized properly and yields good results which are apportioned justly and utilized well. The sovereign, socialist Polish state and its policies have provided our people with 40 years of peaceful life. We cannot overstate the value of this. Where peace is lacking, all other human affairs forfeit their significance. Our country has secure broders. Their inviolability is guaranteed by our own forces and by the friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union.

They are also guaranteed by the remainder of the socialist states, the defensive Warsaw Pact. The combined efforts of the socialist community have secured a military and strategic balance between socialism and imperialism, upon which peaceful coexistence of socialism and capitalism is based today. The achievement of this balance cost the Soviet Union and the peoples of all the socialist countries -- including that of Poland -- many efforts. In the struggle to ensure equal security for the parties, we support the Soviet Union's initiatives aimed at detente, at arresting the arms race and military expenditure.

Thus we fully concur with the statement made by Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee: We do not need military superiority; we do not intend to impose our will upon others; however, we will not permit infringements of the attained military equilibrium. The arms race imposed on the world by the United States has brought about a dangerous aggravation of the international situation. The FRG in particular lends its support to this militaristic course. A considerable portion of new American missiles with nuclear warheads has been installed on its territory. Beyond the Elbe, revanchist and German-hegemonist forces and tendencies are consolidating and accelerating their activities. Poland's right to live in peace and security thus demands to be defended all the more vigorously. The external functions of our state are subordinated to this end. An important part in their execution is played by our active and peaceful foreign policy, by the diplomatic service of our state, and by the defense policy, in which the main task falls to the Polish People's Army, trained in a spirit of patriotism and internationalism, scrupulously attentive to its combat-readiness. It is the patriotic duty of all Poles to consolidate the Armed Forces of the PPR and the defensive readiness of the state, to strengthen the alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union, and to contribute, insofar as their strength and opportunities permit, to the political and defensive alliance of the socialist states.

The party's task is to unify the public in a uniform understanding of the main threats to our country today. These threats are not just military ones, but are also political, economic, scientific, and technological. To develop mutually beneficial friendship and cooperation with the CEMA countries; to win for Poland a worthy place in the worldwide division of labor; to participate actively in the technological race; to continue to rebuild and consolidate the position our country deserves among the states and peoples of the world: Current-day patrotism assumes emphatic form in these tasks. These goals can only be attained through the participation and effort of the whole of society.

Comrades: Without the right to work it is impossible to talk of a secure future for a man and his family. The remaining civic rights and freedoms are of little worth without it. Socialism has assured everyone a realistic right to work and has thus provided work, too. Out of the right to work, however, there issues the duty of productive, disciplined, well-organized work. In 1983 employment in Poland was 3.5 percent lower than in 1979. The national income dropped 19 percent. Thus, social labor productivity has dropped considerably. Has this been purely on objective grounds? Workers from Rzeszow are correct in writing to the Central Committee, and I quote: Favoritism, cliques, drunkenness, idleness, waste, and other irregularities will not be eliminated at factories unless directors, factory committees, and primary-branch party organizations deal with this more resolutely. Neither will there be an improvement in production results or in the quality of manufactured goods unless foremen who are party members and section heads become involved in this in a real way. This means that they must approach their duties with more responsibility, and they must set an example. Setting a good example for workers by the leadership cadre and the party aktiv at a factory will always win the support of all honest people. End of quote.

Disregard for harsh economic reality and lack of understanding for or ignoring the strict interdependence between both individual results of work and earnings, and between the results of collective work and the standard of living, and the possibility of overcoming social ailments still weigh heavily on the awareness of many citizens and on many members of the party, directors, and managers at various levels.

It is precisely this awareness that is a condition for the full setting in motion of reserves which are still great. These reserves can be found in the better organization of labor, in the fuller exploitation of machinery and equipment, in reducing the amount of energy and materials used, in the rationalization of employment, in the improvement of labor discipline, and in raising professional ethics.

An educated, experienced, and talented engineering-technical cadre can do much more than before in creating a movement which promotes front-ranking labor, good management, and rationalization. The appeal made by the supreme council of the Chief Technical Organization to the delegates of the 20th Congress of Polish Technical Workers, who assembled in Lodz a week ago, shows how great the opportunities are for engineers and technical workers to document their active participation in leading the country out of the crisis. The party warmly supports these initiatives.

Comrades: Emphatic proof of the fact that the rights of PPR citizens regarding health protection, social care, and leisure were being treated with utmost seriousness during the period of deep economic collapse was given by the fact that the whole of this sphere of activity by the state was taken under special protection. We are intensifying activities in the protection of the natural environment. However, a general improvement in the situation requires the implementation of a long-term program which would be connected with high investment. It is necessary to have, as from today, the elimination of carelessness and irresponsibility and the solution of problems at a local level using social resourcefulness and initiative.

We have been and are being guided consistently by the principle of protecting the materially weakest groups. Expenditure on social aims constitutes a big place in the state's budget, even though it does not meet all needs. We are aware, for instance, that the majority of old-age and other pensioners are finding it very difficult to make ends meet. At the same time, the phenomenon of various kinds of con-men who wish to live at the expense of the public, exploiting extended social benefits, has been spreading. This is happening, for instance, regarding some pensions relating to the third disability group, fictional divorces, the falsification of data about statements on income, and many similar cases.

Such attitudes and swindles have to be combated with maximum consistency. In this context, one can hear the opinion that the range and quality of the state's social program have outstripped the current possibilities of the national economy, and that maintaining them at this level in the future weaken the country's chances of development. The guiding principle for policies in coming years in this respect ought to be this: The state ought to consolidate the achievement of a broad social policy, which is one of the important achievements of our system. Its scope, however, can only and exclusively be a reflection of the real possibilities of the national economy, both now and in the future. Only the coming of socialism guaranteed working people in Poland the right to education, learning, and participation in culture. We are augmenting the great achievements in this respect, shielding and giving priority to this sphere within the framework of today's considerably limited material resources. The political opponents attempted to weaken the educational, and upbringing, and cultural function of the state. The social needs, the tasks we face, however, require a deepening of this function, increased outlays toward this end from the state budget, and unification and coordination of efforts. Only an effective, all-round, and wise commitment by the socialist state in the sphere of national education, calling on man's creative leanings, can do justice to these tasks. We are consolidating the authority of the school. In fostering respect for teachers and caring for their living and working conditions, the state makes higher demands of the educators of the young.

All levels of education must do a better job of preparing the young to live in a socialist society, to wisely avail themselves of their rights, and to perform their duties well. High priority has to be given to preparing the young for work and to organizing their participation in social actions. With this goal in mind, the introduction of productive apprenticeships [praktyka] for students is being considered.

We have deemed the consolidation of public law and order, of the rule of law and social discipline, to be one of the extraordinarily important currents of socialist renewal. It is in the interests of all citizens. The party's position is that the law is one and applies to all to an equal degree -- both state bodies and citizens. There must also be a single discipline binding upon all, upon the director and the rank-and-file worker, on the superior and the subordinate, on the official and the citizen. We must consistently adhere to this principle. We are improving the legal system. The changes unmistakably aim at a law which provides effective protection both for the general socialist interests and those of the individual, for order in the state and the socialist principles of social life. Laws have been adopted or amended to permit a more effective struggle against the manifestations of social pathology, profiteering, making bribes, corruption of minors, alcoholism, and parasitic shirking of work. The penalties for those criminal offenses that represent the most dangerous threat to human life and health have also been intensified. Protection of state and of citizens' property has been consolidated. The conscientious, difficult service of the bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs contributes to the enforcement of the law and to the strengthening of public safety, and law, and order. The employees of the prosecutor's office and the justice administration play an important part in providing for the rule of law and combating criminality and all violations of the law.

The party -- concerned that there should be respect for the organs which are guarding the law, the security of the state, and its citizens -- imposes lofty requirements in respect to them and exacts strict adherence to law and order and adherence to political-moral principles.

At the end of last year the premier appointed a committee of the Council of Ministers responsible for matters pertaining to the observance of law, public order, and social discipline. The coordination and tightening up of the activities of all state organs who are responsible for combating crime and other violations of the law and social pathology are beginning to be fruitful. However, the situation is still unsatisfactory and gives rise to justified concern. The statutory instruments for combating social pathology are not being fully exploited. The preparatory proceedings in cases of various criminal offenses are frequently long and drawn out, and in many cases court rulings are not harsh enough. The sensitivity of the working class and of all working people to all phenomena of social injustice is understandable. The drop in the standard of living has increased this sensitivity even more. After all, every crisis creates the soil in which extremes of wealth and poverty arise.

We analyzed this phenomenon at the National Conference of PZPR Delegates, drawing attention to the growing size of the phenomenon of exploitation. Under normal conditions, this would be a tiny amount, corresponding roughly to the sum and size of the small-traders sector. Bt at present, exploitation is also acquiring the dangerous form of speculation, corruption, tax swindles, illegal dealing with goods, and fruitless economic activities. This is a (?source) where a particular type of capital, which one might call speculative capital, is coming into existence. This sort of violation of the law causes material losses which run into millions of zlotys and even greater moral losses.

All forms of getting around socialist norms of labor and distribution and the appropriate legal regulations are highly dangerous. Even though they are not included in the classical definitions of exploitation, they amount to the same because they violate social justice. What is meant are such phenomena as the exploitation of a difficult market situation to push up prices without justification, breaking the principle of pay for what one produces, waste, shoddy production, and boosting the number of hours worked overtime, for which money is swindled out under various pretenses.

The Politburo has thoroughly assessed the results of the struggle against all kinds of law breaking, crime, and pathology. It supported the bills presented by the committee responsible for matters pertaining to the observance of laws, bills for accelerating (?statutory) repression against crimes which are particularly damaging to society. These include burglaries, muggings, fraud, inflating prices, speculation, bribery, inducements, glaring examples of food waste, poor management, and dishonest practices in the private sector. The bill to better define the statute against parasitic shirking of work found full support in the 16th plenum postconsultation. This is in the interest of every honest citizen, including those who adopt various views adverse to administering punishment until they themselves fall victim to a thief, hooligan, or swindler.

The Politburo recommended the consistent implementation of statutes, further increases in crime detection, accelerating the procedures for punishment, and increasing the educational and cautionary administration of punishment.

Above all, however, the punishment of high fines; confiscation of property; and curtailment of liberty, which includes assignment to specific enterprises and the obligation to pay a part of one's earnings for social purposes, should be more widely applied. The Politburo stressed that every person in a management post who does not carry out the basic responsibilities, and thus facilitates criminal activity, should be sentenced.

In the struggle against violations of the norms of law and social justice, the party must be uncompromising at and in all milieus. The struggle against evil, against strong (?lobbies) being the rulers, and against the motto that backing or money can buy anything, must be our area for strengthening the bonds between the party and the working people. There can be no room to tolerate opportunism and weakness in enforcing the law.

There are worrying examples of insufficient involvement by party members and non-party social activists in face of the evil occurring in their own milieu and in their own backyard. Another reason is that there is no lack of examples of disillusionment (?of other) people who took up the struggle and were left on their own. They got no support, either from party organizations or state bodies. Support for people who are courageously fighting against evil is a matter of conscience for party organizations and the apparatus of state authority.

Comrades: In the reports at today's plenum, we gave a broad presentation of the current state of relations between the state and the church, and our party's stance on this issue. Keeping in force the fundamental assumptions formulated at the 12th plenum and particularly at the National Conference of PZPR Delegates, we do not conceal that these relations are made more difficult and disrupted, giving rise to justified disquiet. [sentence as heard] For centures the churchhas found its place in various systems of government, and its attitude to the feudal and capitalist formation needs to be recalled.

Today too, in many countries, the church adapts itself to new historical conditions. There is every evidence of this in People's Poland, too, as reflected in the complete freedom to practice religious observances and also in the exceptional increase in the affluence of the Roman Catholic Church and in the wealth of its clergy.

However, it is also known how forces hostile to our homeland instigate, speculate, and desire society to be at odds, against a background of different world views. How much, at all costs even, they want anatognism between state and church, driving them into a situation of profound conflict. He who thinks about Poland in terms of patriotic responsibility and the supreme interest of the country is under the obligation to take this into consideration at every step, in every move. It is vital, in particular, to narrow and eliminate the field of potential disputes and conflicts and therefore to observe constitutional principles and norms.

In activity marked by goodwill we have something to base ourselves on, something to refer to. There exists a permanent achievement of 40 years of coexistence between the socialist state and the church in Poland. There exist agreements and accords which should be fully implemented. Priests who are social activists (?are) numerous. The decisive majority of the clergy takes up a stance of civic loyalty. Millions of believers actively participate in social life, in various forms of socialist democracy, democracy, in the work of the state. Therefore, there are enough experiences and premises in the present situation for what serves Poland, strengthens Poland, is useful to Poland, to be victorious.

The principles the party follows regarding the church correspond to its program, principles, and convictions, without in any respect wounding the feelings of believers. We wish to repeat today: We constantly state our support for the lasting formulation of constructive relations between the state and the Roman Catholic Church, for cooperation wherever it is possible and ought to be beneficial. We also state our support, for the continuation of the positive tendencies in relations with the other churches and denominational associations.

Comrades: When assessing almost 3 years of implementing the program for surmounting the socioeconomic crisis, the party is aware both of its achievements and its failures. We know that in various milieus disappointment is manifesting itself -- disappointment with the rate at which the difficulties have been overcome so far. It does not allow one to fulfill all the expectations of the working people. But one cannot escape economic realities. Today we can already see, nevertheless, that the mechanisms set in motion by the economic reform are gradually bringing about positive, albeit slow, changes. They are contributing to increased production and work productivity, thrift, and initiative. They are also exerting an increasingly wide influence on the modes of thought and action of many work forces. They promote workers' self-managements and increase the part played by the trade unions and the social factor.

A search for more effective modes of management is underway in all the socialist countries. We are carefully studying their experiences in order to draw upon them so as to further improve our solutions. The process of reforming the economy is an ongoing one and will continue, breaking down obstacles and hindrances. The experiences of 1980 and 1981 have forcibly shown the negative effect on the living conditions of working people that is exerted by a weakening of the state's socioeconomic function. The consolidation and improvement of the role of the center of the political economy thus represents an important task.

The reform creates opportunities for this under the condition that the representatives of the center utilize the new economic mechanisms to this end. One has to strengthen central planning and the other instruments whereby the economy is directed, in this spirit and in accordance with the social needs.

We have already covered a good bit of road in overcoming the crisis. We have done a good deal, but still more lies ahead of us. We are right to deal with the big problems which generally determine the living conditions of a society. But the small problems, the apparently tiny shortcomings, weigh upon the solution of the big problems. These small problems are socially trying and irritate all of us: poor organization in (?the work) of many shops, the counter that is closed at the post office, at the Polish motor transport and Polish state railways stations, dragging of feet by the housing administration, the dilatoriness of the caretaker, and dirt and disorder in public places: These are some examples of the vexations of everyday life. Numerous sore spots and even absurdities can be removed without additional outlay or legal regulations. Honest fulfillment of their tasks by the public services, institutions, and centers set up to serve the population, an increased sense of responsibility among their employees, more effective supervision, inspections, determined insistence that official duties are carried out, and vigorous taking in hand of these matters by the party organizations can considerably ease life, despite the pressure of the long-term effects of the crisis.

Comrades: We are a party of the working class. We represent its ideals, interests, and strategic developmental goals. Our party arose out of the political needs and aspirations of this social force, which was in the forefront of the nation, and which in the course of revolutionary transformations gathered to itself all the classes and strata of the working people. It is from this source and this source alone that we derive our mandate to wield the leading role in society and the directing role in the state. The constitutional entry to the effect that the leading force of society in the construction of socialism is the PZPR is only the legal confirmation of this.

We read it first of all as an index of duties and responsibilities, servitude vis-a-vis the working class, the nation, and the fatherland. This mandate to exercise the guiding, leading role is endorsed by the 40-year-old achievements of the PPR -- its successful coping with the historical need for revolutionary transformations, inviolability of frontiers, for independence and frontiers, and the functioning of our alliance.

The guarantor of these values is our party, its Marxist-Leninist program. This mandate must be renewed by the party all the time and confirmed in everyday activities. The vast tasks of the leading unit of the guiding force of the working class can be implemented by the party, provided it will consolidate its leading role in the state. That is why we have rejected at the ninth congress the concepts designed to restrict it. The influencing of the community by the party, says the decision of the ninth congress, cannot be confined solely to the ideological influencing of the social consciousness. The narrowing down of the party's function to the ideological and moral platform, depriving it of the concrete instruments for exercising power, is a concept contrary to the fundamental principles of socialist construction, which brings with it adverse results for the whole of political, social, and economic life.

We have also rejected the habit of replacing the bodies of the authorities and state administration by party echelons and their apparatuses. We have declared that the party will operate within the law respecting the constitutional norms, which in a socialist state bind everyone.

We have behind us 3 years of party work in the spirit of and in line with the program for socialist renewal. Its foundation consists of the building of a durable and powerful bond with the working class and all working men's milieus. Meetings between members of the leadership and party activists and factory work forces have become a regular practice, as have meetings with representatives of various working people's milieus and mass organizations, the sounding of the views of work forces and diverse vocational milieus on key issues concerning party policy.

The postulates and expectations of the working man find their reflection in the programs and in everyday party work. We inform the working class and all citizenry about undertakings embarked upon by the party, submitting them to the judgment of party members and broad social opinion. To lead means to give and provide an example. Through the development of democracy inside the party, we should create experiences and important models for all social life. We have expressed this in the statute of our party and in the rules for election of delegates and party officers.

The implementation of these norms is being promoted at all levels of party operations. In line with the Leninist models for democratic centralism, it is imperative to improve the combining of debates -- a critical analysis of reality with the requirements of ideological and organizational unity -- with discipline in the implementation of decisions. In particular, we must demand and deepen a feeling of the indispensability of criticism and self-criticism, and the combating of weaknesses, arrogance, and complacency -- which ensure harmony between deeds and words.

On the other hand, we cannot tolerate the undermining of the party line, gossiping, and demagogy. Our Central Committee works very actively and vigilantly. All key problems concenring life in the homeland are being subjected to an evaluation at its plenary meetings. The decisions adopted by the Central Committee constitute a guideline for party members and the government as well as in the PZPR deputies' club.

Regarding topical issues, the same role is played by assessments and decisions of the Politburo. Regarding local issues, this role should be fulfilled by the decisions of local party echelons. We still have a great deal to do. There is already no lack of good party experiences in working the new way.

They have to be exploited and deepenened in activity at the level of people's councils and self-govenments. Much needs to be done to strengthen the inspirational, organizational, and control role of primary party organizations in relation to administative and economic leaderships, to various social organizations and links, and above all to ensure the leading and active attitude of party members in these links.

One has to accelerate the skill of conducting effective activity amidst various kinds of contradictions which frequently assume the form of various kinds of narrow-minded interests. The extraction of what unites people and the elimination of what divides people is the way to harmonize interests and to prevent contradictions from changing into conflicts. No one can replace the party in this role. We must be guided always and everywhere both by the general social interest and by sensitivity to people's needs.

Voices are sometimes heard in primary party organizations alleging that the leading role of the party in relation to state and administrative organs should be stipulated in detail in various normative acts. Let us recall that there have already been attempts to introduce the obligatory signing by party secretaries of director-level decisions. Despite this, and perhaps among others precisely because of this, the leading role of the party weakened. The party was losing its ties with workers. The gist of the matter lies not so much in regulations but rather in adopting an aggressive manner, initiative, energy, consistency, and civilian bravery.

We attach particular importance to cadre policy. This is not only our right but also our duty stemming from responsibility for the state. We defined the principles of cadre policy at the 13th plenum of the Central Committee. These principles are based on the aspiration to create conditions in which people who have been well-prepared professionally, who represent high ideological and moral values, and who are devoted to the cause of socialism should occupy every post and in which the roads to promotion should be open for such people. The party is an important source for the recruitment of cadres, but a party card cannot furnish any privileges which facilitate promotion. On the contrary, it places greater responsibility on people.

We made the broader advancement to leadership posts of members of the allied parties and of people with no party affiliation one of the principles governing the party's cadre policy. This is one of the important manifestations of authenticity in the coalition method of exercising power. Competitions are becoming an important form of selecting leadership cadres in the economy. Some 395 of the 493 directors appointed last year were selected using this procedure.

There is no correct cadre policy without consulting the joint decisionmaking opinion of primary party organizations, or workers' self-governments, and of the trade unions, or without making public the decisions and motives behind them. In the materials of the politburo, we have stressed that party opinions and decisions in cadre matters cannot be taken by only one person. On the other hand, the democratization of cadre policy cannot rule out efficient management by one person. The scrupulous observance of the criteria used for selecting and assessing cadres is a condition for overcoming the phenomena of inertia, passivity, and powerlessness; and of blocking initiative and inventiveness, boldness of thought and action, and healthy professional ambitions. This is one of the decisive means for destroying established, narrow-minded structures of management and leadership where they occur.

Merited and experienced cadres are our capital. They have not bent under the burden of the truth about the mistakes of the past period. They have not retreated under the pressure of the opponent. They have not failed in the encounter with the counterrevolution. In the period of the pressure of anarchy, a fair number of honest, self-sacrificing, and experienced people fell victim to slander and demagogic attacks. Many were quite simply not selected. We defend their good name, and we are doing a lot to attract them, to repair the damage done, and to entrust them with duties which are in accordance with their professional and political training and their moral values.

That is one side of the matter. There is another. No small number of people are rightly recalled for real offenses; still, among people with years of service, there are also those who came through many successive changes, wriggling out of things by feigning support for the (?majority). Such people do not regard the current developmental stage seriously, thinking that sooner or later all this will pass into oblivion. It will not. We will not permit it. He who neglects his duties must not be treated leniently; instead of implementing the party line, he attempts to undermine it.

In 1983-84, party echelons at all levels (?retracted) recommendations for 83 persons in posts at the disposal of ministries and central administrative offices. Despite this, 16 people still hold those posts. For lower levels, the corresponding data show 227 party members from whom recommendations were withdrawn, of whom 67 persons still work at their posts. This shows what obstacles are in the way of implementing the decided assumptions of cadre policy.

This is not a campaign, but a constant process which requires consistency and persistence. Increasing importance is linked to the practice of dignifiedly leaving posts, to eligibility and to appointments. One either holds a post or one doesn't; one has a profession or they don't, voivoda, secretary, chairman, president -- such professions should not exist. On the other hand, everyone should have the guaranteed opportunity to work in accordance with their qualifications.

Every decision based on just and objective assessments creates confidence in the party and the state authorities, and proves their intentions. Examples of voivodship committees of our party effectively introducing the new assumptions of cadre policy show that only consistent activities are fruitful in increasing social approval for the party's undertakings. Preparatory work is in an advanced stage in the sphere of selecting candidates to exchange practical experiences; Central Committee employees will go to party echelons in the provinces and vice versa.

Whoever stands out at work; by professional, intellectual, organizational, and creative activeness, regardless of party membership, should have the chance of deserved promotion. We should include such people in cadre reserves and boldly advance them into posts. This particularly applies to young people. In the party apparatus, people up to 35 years old already account for about 26 percent of the management cadre. This percentage is also growing in many other spheres of life: In the industrial center of (?optics), more than 80 percent of management cadre are people about 30 years old. Work with cadres in basic and departmental party organizations should consist of an honest and just assessment of the ideological, moral attitudes and the work results of all those who hold management posts. The point is not to do their work for them in the process of management, but to help, assist, and objectively evaluate (?them). Strengthening the assessing function of basic and departmental organizations is the way to combat signs of cliquishness, favoritism, abuse of one's position, and dishonesty. It is a method to create a climate of intolerance toward helpnessness and create sensitivity in managing any group of employees.

As the party which fullfils the leading role, we have responsibility for everything that happens in the state. This applies to both what is good and what is bad. That is why we must surround with solicitude everything that is precious and socially useful, and persevere in the fight against all infringements of the system principles and norms. We must oppose everything that weakens the state, hampers the development of democracy, abuses the rule of law, and undermines discipline. We will not allow a protective umbrella to be opened over anyone who acts this way.

This stance of ours is confirmed by the fruitful intervention of the Central Committee Commission for Complaints and Suggestions and the local equivalent, bureaus for letters and inspection. This year they received more than 500,000 complaints and cases. The activities undertaken in connection with these reports enjoy social recognition and are conducive to the conviction that the party is on the side of justice, honesty, and the truth.

Comrades, before us is the immensely important political campaign connected with next year's Sejm election of the PPC. Loyal to the line and guidance of the ninth extraordinary congress, we hold the view that they should be conducted on the basis of a new electoral law which would be conducive to the strengthening of the system principles of socialism and to the democratization of the sociopolitical life. Thus, we enter the next important stage in the realization of the idea of socialist renewal and national accord. We must prepare well for a lengthy debate on the most important issues related to the Polish people and their socialist state, on today's demands and those of the future, on how to make up for the losses and delays, accelerate the overcoming of difficulties, and strengthen the worthy and safe place of Poland in the world.

The present and future of the homeland depend on our work, on the energy and zeal of the young and the experience of older generations, and on the wise use of rights and scrupulous discharge of duties.

Let us recall the words of the first secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski: "The timing of improvements in Poland depends on those who intensely desire improvement." [applause]

Speeches Summarized

LD271533 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 27 Oct 84

[Excerpt] Good morning, ladies and gentlemen: A few minutes after 0900 the 17th PZPR Central Committee Plenum resumed its deliberations.

Yesterday, 23 speakers took the floor. Today, the first to speak was Stanislaw Blonski, Central Committee member and a private farmer from the Przemysl Voivodship. He spoke as a representative of the older generation of Polish farmers. He said that for them those in power always represented an authority, but, this prestige has unfortunately declined. He said that the situation will not be rebuilt by passing new bills and that the division into "us" and "you" will remain -- that is, a division into those ruled and the rulers. The rebuilding of authority is a long-term process. During this process the party must listen to those at the grassroots' level. These are bitter and acid words, but they are authentic assertions originating from the people. Nobody will deny that the prestige of the authorities can be rebuilt solely on the basis of authenticity.

The strengthening of our state depends on putting into effect the principle of supremacy of social interests over group interests, Jacek Trojanek, deputy chairman of the Central Auditing Commission and assistant professor at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan, stated. The implementation of the economic reform constitutes an important step along this path. However, the reform has not been conceived by all in the same way. Some enterprises endeavor to interpret the principles of reform in such a manner as to adapt them best to their own, often private, interests. An example is provided in this instance by deliberate licence on the part of some economic units. We must bear in mind that independence is not an objective for its own sake. Independence is indispensible, but it must take into consideration the interest of the society as a whole. Concluding his speech, Assistant Professor Trojanek referred to the complex sociopolitical situation in Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan.

Franciszek Banko spoke on the duties of Central Committee members toward the working class and the state. He asked what the state depended on during the building of socialism and the [word indistinct] consciousness of the masses. Our situation needs a strong, sound, and creative party. Many bills have been passed. To what extent do they strengthen the state and the party?

He dwelt at length on the situation at the schools of higher learning and to the insignificant influence of the party on the quality of the academic cadres, the educators of the young generation. In his opinion, one of the Central Committee meetings should be dedicated to the intelligentsia, its situation and role. Reviewing the complex situation in the country, he touched on the issue of pay within the administration. The key to all actions is a strong, sound party, Franciszek Banko said in conclusion.

More On Speeches

LD271602 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 27 Oct 84

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen: The long, multitheme, incredibly rich debate of the 17th party plenum has ended. In all, 39 speakers took the floor. We now report on more speeches.

Jerzy Szmajdzinski, chairman of the ZSMP Central Board, drew attention to the fact that youth is one of the major milieus with regard to political confrontation. The struggle for the attitude of the young toward the state is therefore a struggle for the highest stake, he said. The speaker then contended that in undertakings designed to strengthen the state, not enough attention is dedicated to the mechanisms regulating the everyday life of the inhabitants.

Albert Kosowski, Central Committee member and machine operator in the workers publishing cooperative Prasa, Ksiazka, Ruch, dedicated most of his speech to the development of culture as a very essential factor in the strengthening of the socialist state and the socialist democracy. He spoke critically about printing shortages, and the inconsistent publishing policy, saying that the softness of the authorities is considered by political enemies as a weakness. The speaker also imparted his reflection on the ineffective cooperation between trade unions and worker self-governments in many production enterprises.

Next to speak was Adam Szczurowski, chairman of the Katowice Voivodship People's Council. He dealt with three problems: How the Katowice Voivodship People's Council sees its place in the system of democracy; how the leading role of the party in Katowice Voivodship is being realized, and preparations for the elections for the inhabitants' self-managements. Out of 200 councillors in Katowice, 107 are PZPR members. These are activists who have a vision and idea for which they work. These activists, however, have not been in the councils before and have no experience; that is why they need to be educated. It provides a guarantee that the leading role of the party in Katowice Voivodship is being discharged.

The fundamental target of the debate of the current plenum is obvious to every party member, Stanislaw Wronski, chief editor of NOWE DROGI said. Three times the building of socialism in Poland has been genuinely in danger. The dialectics of these dangers were common: our own errors, dissatisfaction of the masses, activeness of the political enemy. Next the speaker asked whether the present plenum debates were too optimistic. He said one should analyze the historic achievements: We have achieved a great deal and we have something to be proud of. In that time Poland ceased to be seasonal state, a dummy of the great courts. We also need optimism in order to lead the country along a straight path.

Sylwester Zawadzki, a Warsaw University professor, characterized the sociopolitical situation at the school of higher learning, giving Warsaw University as an example. Since 1983 the situation started to change. The party began to go over to the offensive. However, party members do need courage. Idleness, lack of faith, loss of heart are bound to cause anxiety. Also needed is a consolidation of party members in the academic milieu as there continue to be many divergent opinions. Our duty is to standardize these opinions.

The achievements of the process of renewal are beyond dispute, but the benefits of renewal are not real and comprehensive. There can be no doubt that we have entered the correct road. This is the only road from which there is no way back, concluded Sylwester Zawadzki.

Jan Mikulski, Central Committee member, made a very colorful speech full of examples in which he recalled Poland's history after World War II and the conditions during the first decades of this century. He recalled the birth of the awareness of his generation, and how trifling, sometimes comical accidents make history. If we measure the distance between wishes and facts the gap is substantial, but if we concentrate on what we have and what it is worth, then we are rich, he said in conclusion.

Antoni Kwiatkowski dealt with the problem of national education. Despite the publication of many books during the course of the last 40 years, we are now alarmed by the shortage of text books. Comics of dubious value appear. A sordid moral model is provided by cowboys, murderers, and so forth. We have our own examples of heroism in history, he said, which are morally positive. Let us bear in mind our achievements.

Next to speak was Jerzy Jaskiernia, general secretary of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]. In the view of the speaker the plenum was closing the state of forming structures for social and political participation of Poles. The time for learning, for filling with political content, is beginning. Participation in democracy calls for knowledge and unbiasedness, and for this there is a shortage of strength and time. He spoke about PRON: There are 16,000 branches, several thousand activists. There are very positive examples of action: How to act, how to find ones' place? With whom to seek accord? These are the most important questions we must ask ourselves now. PRON must not only be a platform but also a party to the agreement, Jerzy Jaskiernia stated.

The last speaker was Wladyslaw Swidzinski, Central Committee member [as heard]. He said that war must be declared against egoism, which eats away at society. We forget that we form one great family -- Poland. He said that sometimes small party organizations do not get support in the decisions adopted by the echelons. He also spoke on the complex situation facing the academic milieu. He suggested that we should determine where we can afford, for political reasons, democracy, and where we cannot afford it.

Thus this multitheme debate has ended. At the moment there is an interval in the plenum debate until 1500. After this the presentation and adoption of resolutions is expected, as well as the concluding speech by the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Premier, Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Plenum Ends 27 October

LD272234 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 27 Oct 84

[Text] During the second day of the deliberations at the 17th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, participants in the plenary discussion have spoken about improving the party's guiding role in society and leading role in the state and about consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat -- viewed as democracy implemented by the working people and in their interest.

A total of 39 speakers took part in the debate, which has now ended. Marian Orzechowski, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committtee Politburo and rector of the Academy of Social Sciences, presented a report to the participants on the subject of assumptions for work on the draft of the long-term party program.

He spoke about matters concerned in these assumptions in regard to the contents and functions of the party's long-term program, about what has been done in this sphere, and about the organization of the commission and its teams' work. The Central Committee has approved the proposed amendments and made further appointments to the Central Committee commission for working out the long-term party program.

Following the speecy by Professor Marian Orzechowski, the draft resolution presented by the resolution and suggestions commission of the 17th plenum was debated. Following submission and insertion of the amendments, a vote was taken. The Central Committee passed the resolution of the 17th plenum entitled "The Party's Tasks in Strengthening the State, Developing Socialist Democracy, and Making the Rule of Law, Order, and Social Discipline Permanent."

On organizational matters, the Central Committee has confirmed Marek Holdakowski in the post of head of the Central Committee Economic Department.

The concluding speech was made by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

The 17th plenary meeting of the PZPR Central Committee ended with the singing of the "Internationale."

Czyrek Interviewed

LD272258 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 27 Oct 84

[Text] A few minutes after the plenum was ended, I asked Comrade Jozef Czyrek, who chaired the Commission of Resolutions and Motions, for an interview.

[Begin recording] [Question] Comrade Secretary, what are the most important decisions of the resolution adopted by the 17th plenum today?

[Czyrek] The plenum endeavored to present the stand of the party on the most important issues of consolidating our socialist state -- our Polish statehood -- of consolidating the democratic character of our state and of further developing socialist democracy, and of consolidating all that determines the strength of the state, the strength of our democracy, and the rule of law and order -- all those values fundamental to the functioning of a state and democracy.

In specific issues the Central Committee outlined recommendations for party echelons and all party members, but, in particular, those party members who work in the system of the state authorities -- those elected, such as in people's councils self-management, and those working in the state administration -- and also party members who work in social organizations in the sphere of economy. The resolution assumes that only integrated and harmonious activity in all these spheres can securely achieve this goal, which is the strength of our state and the depth of our democracy, and the implementation of the goals which were set by the party at its ninth congress -- the socialist renewal of our life.

[Question] Comrade Secretary, at the same time, preliminary work on the perspective program of the party for the next 20 years has begun. Can you say something about it?

[Czyrek] The plenum adopted a resolution concerning the course of work on that program and specified the schedule for these work. Let us recall only the most important decisions by the plenum in this matter. We want to work out a first draft of this program by the end of March and discuss it widely at the ideological and theoretical conference. After that conference, the second stage of work on the draft will follow. In the summer we want to present the draft to the Central Committee, and, after its adoption, we could begin the discussion within the party and the society. [end recording]

U.S. 'IRRITATED' BY PAPANDREOU'S REMARKS

LD261219 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 26 Oct 84

[Text] The U.S. Government has again interfered in Polish affairs; this time it is in connection with the visit to our country by Andreas Papandreou. A U.S. State Department spokesman said that Prime Minister Papandreou's statement concerning Poland is the proof -- as he put it -- of total misunderstanding of U.S. policy in the present reality of Eastern Europe.

What is more interesting, the spokesman also spoke in the name of others and said that Papandreou's words are contradictory to the views of Poles, the Catholic Church, and trade unions throughout the world.

Observers have no doubts that Washington was irritated by the Greek Prime Minister's remarks. After returning to Athens he said that the policy of the United States and other Western states using restrictions against Poland is an attack against our state. These attacks are aimed at destabilization of Eastern Europe, Papandreou said.

UN DELEGATE PRESENTS ANTINUCLEAR PROPOSALS

AU241100 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Oct 84 pp 1,2

[Text] PAP -- On Thursday [18 October], at a meeting of the Committee for Political Affairs and Security of the 39th UN General Assembly session, Henryk Jaroszek, chairman of the Polish delegation and deputy minister of foreign affairs, spoke. He drew attention to the further deterioration in the international situation as a result of the confrontational and arms race policy led by the United States and some of its allies, a policy calculated to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states.

Here are excerpts of the Polish speech, which emphasizes our country's steady aim to establish lasting peace and halt the arms race:

The spiraling of the arms race has manifested itself in the most alarming way through the installation of new, intermediate-range American missiles in three West European states, with a total disregard for mass protests by society. The targeting of offensive tactical weapons against the East, including Poland, carries evil consequences. It has aroused revisionist and militaristic ambitions, as well as attempts to question the existing territorial and political reality in Europe.

This serious development of events is, of course, forcing the USSR and its allies to take appropriate steps to equalize the one-sided, temporary disequilibrium, in order to restore the military balance. NATO's irresponsible policy has also led to a break in the exceptionally important Soviet-American dialogue in Geneva on the reduction of nuclear weapons in Europe and on the restriction of strategic weapons.

During recent months, the countries of the Warsaw Pact, confirming the seriousness of their motives and anxious to proceed to disarmament negotiations, renewed their proposal concerning the signing of agreements on the nonuse of military strength and the preservation of peaceful relations between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, freeing Europe of chemical weapons, freezing and further re cing military expenditures, and preventing the arms race from spreading to space.

The socialist countries have always been devoted and firm supporters of honest, constructive, and valuable negotiations led in good faith and on the basis of equiality and equal security by all sides. That is why we regard it as distressing and disappointing that the United States is most clearly rejecting these principles as lawful prerequisites for further negotiations concerning the most vital security interests of all countries.

Preventing nuclear war is now the most critical and urgent problem facing all mankind. Therefore, the need arises to take important steps toward halting and eliminating the growing danger of nuclear catastrope. Disarmament must be based on equal security at the lowest possible level of military strength on the one hand, and must serve to dispel the thought of war from people's minds on the other.

One important moral prerequisite for preventing war is contained in the UN declation on bringing up societies in the spirit of peace, adopted by the the General Assembly in 1978, at Poland's initiative. The declaration's most important recommendations concern disarmament. The periodic review of the implementation of this declaration, which is on the current session's agenda, will serve its purpose if -- within the context of the approaching international year of peace -- it makes statemen and leaders more aware of their historic responsibility for the fate and success of their countries in the nuclear era. The Polish delegation intends to submit an appropriate draft resolution during the present session.

In the Polish delegation's opinion, avoiding nuclear catastrophe demands:

-- first, a commitment not to be the first to use a nuclear weapon by those nuclear powers that have not yet made such a commitment;

-- second, the prevention of the militarization of space, which is becoming a sphere of a highly dangerous technological arms race and where the outbreak of a nuclear conflict is possible;

-- third, a qualitative and quantitative freeze on nuclear arsenals, especially those in the USSR and United States;

-- fourth, the signing of a treaty on a general and total ban on nuclear tests.

Deputy Minister Jaroszek pointed out that Polish disarmament principles are not restricted to the nuclear sphere. For years we have been anxious to make an important contribution both at the United Nations and at the Geneva disarmament talks, and join in efforts to eliminate chemical weapons. That is why it distresses us to see that the slow but sure progress and the accord prospects in Geneva have been destroyed through the United States' lack of a constructive and flexible stance toward a draft convention.

Finally, H. Jaroszek expressed the conviction that the adoption of concrete, confidence-building measures in international trade, of which a concept was presented by a Polish delegation at last year's UN General Assembly session, may solve the most pressing development problems of every state.

DELEGATION DEPARTS FOR CUBAN CEMA SESSION

LD271222 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 27 Oct 84

[Text] A Polish delegation has left for Havana for the 39th CEMA session. The delegation, led by Zbigniew Messner, is composed of Kazimierz Barcikowski, Janusz Obodwski, Manfred Gorywoda, Tadeusz Nestorowicz, and Jerzy Korzonek.

COOPERATION AGREEMENT WITH HUNGARY SIGNED

LD260231 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 25 Oct 84

[Text] A delegation of the MSZMP Central Committee was in Poland on 24 and 25 October at the invitation of the PZPR Central Committee. During the plenary talks, the implementation of the decisions made by Wojciech Jaruzelski and Janos Kadar, during the friendly visit of the Hungarian party and government delegation to Poland in October of last year, were discussed. In accordance with the decisions of both leaders, a comprehensive program of development of relations between Poland and Hungary for the years 1984-1990, which broadens the cooperation to date and creates conditions for increasing its effectiveness, was worked out. The program was signed by Jozef Czyrek and the chairman of the Hungarian delegation, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, Matyas Szuros. During the meeting views were also exchanged on international issues, including the activities of the communist and workers movement. A uniformity of standpoints on strengthening security and peace in Europe, based on strict respect for the territorial and political realities shaped after the World War II, was expressed.

SED DELEGATION ENDS IDEOLOGICAL TALKS 25 OCT

LD252118 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1400 GMT 25 Oct 84

[Text] A SED Central Committee study delegation headed by Manfred Feist today ended several days of talks on ideological questions with the heads of the Departments of Information and International Relations of the PZPR Central Committee. The delegation was received by Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, for a friendly exchange of views. There was also a meeting with Marian Wozniak, first secretary of the Warsaw City Province PZPR Committee.

BARCIKOWSKI MEETS CPCZ STUDY DELEGATION

LD270136 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 26 Oct 84

[Text] A study delegation led by Candidate Member of the CPCZ Central Committee Vaclav Janousek, visited Poland at the invitation of the party Central Committee. The guests acquainted themselves with problems related to coal mining, the mining machines industry and energy. The delegation was received by the secretary of the party Central Committee, Politburo Member Kazimierz Barcikowski, who imparted the political and social problems apparent in our country and the results of the cooperation between the two brotherly parties.

CEAUSESCU CHAIRS EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

AU262002 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1935 GMT 26 Oct 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 26/10/1984 -- Gathering on October 26, under the chairmanship of RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP examined and endorsed the draft decree on diminishing prices with products, parts and subassemblies manufactured by the horizontal [as received] industry, with finite products and parts, as well as on the alteration of prices with certain products assimilated in the country. The Executive Political Committee analysed and endorsed the proposals on: diminishing the rates of interest charged and paid by banks; the rates of exchange of lei in the currencies of other states; improving the system of stimulations for the working people and enterprises in view of extra benefits. Related to all these issues the Executive Political Committee endorsed a resolution that is to be released.

Next, the Executive Political Committee debated the proposals concerning facilities and guarantees to be given to juristic and natural foreign persons in carrying out the specific and investment operations in the Constanta-Sud free zone and in the utilization of the Danube-Black Sea Canal for the transit of freight. The fact was pointed out that the application of these measures will lead to an intensification of the transit of frieght via Romanian ports and to a development of the collaboration between the relevant organizations in Romania and foreign companies.

The Executive Political Committee also examined the current developments of the fall farming campaign and called the field workers as well as all the people working in the countryside to make further efforts to conclude as soon as possible the harvest with all culture so that nothing of the good crop of this year may be lost, and to speed up all the operations required to provide a solid base to next year's farm production.

The Executive Political Committee also solved problems regarding the preparation of the 13th Congress of the RCP and current problems of the party and state activity.

Reports Given on FRG Visit

AU261959 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1921 GMT 26 Oct 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 26/10/1984 -- During a meeting, on October 26, of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, President Nicolae Ceausescu read an account of the state visit he and Elena Ceausescu paid to West Germany between October 15 and 17, at the invitation of Richard von Weizsaecker, president of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Approving the results of the visit, the Executive Political Committee considered it to fit within Socialist Romania's general policy of developing its relations with all the world states, irrespective of social system, with developed capitalist states included, in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence. The visit was an opportunity to examine the possibilities, ways and means to develop and diversify the relations of cooperation and collaboration between the two countries in economy, science, technology, culture and other fields, on the basis of fully equal rights, observance of national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage. The conviction was expressed that a closer cooperation between Romania and West Germany was to the benefit of both countries, of the cause of detente, security, understanding and peace in Europe and throughout the world.

The Executive Political Committee stressed the way in which President Nicolae Ceausescu reiterated the principles on which the Romanian state's foreign policy is based, Romania's constructive stances on the complex issues facing manking today. Stress was laid on the significance of the Romanian head of state's statement that the fundamental issues of our time are the defense of peace, the cessation of the arms race, of the nuclear arms race in particular, the ensurance of people's and nations' supreme right to a free and dignified existence. During the talks, President Nicolae Ceausescu expressed Romania's resolve to work unflinchingly for the cessation of the emplacement of U.S. medium-range missiles in West Germany and other West European countries and of the nuclear countermeasures announced by the Soviet Union, for the resumption of the Soviet-American talks so as to reach proper accords which should lead to the elimination of medium-range missiles and eventually of all nuclear weapons in the continent and throughout the world.

Emphasis was also placed on the profound meaning of the appeal addressed that time too by Nicolae Ceausescu to all European countries to assume greater responsibility and work together for detente, disarmament and security, for the building of a united Europe of peace, understanding and collaboration, free of missiles and any other nuclear weapon. The special importance was stressed of the mention made by Romania's president that in order to ensure a peaceful perspective to the European peoples, one had to start from the realities established after the Second World War, that by no reason the questioning of these realities, of the frontiers established after that war could be admitted.

Romania's positions expressed during the Romanian-West German official talks showed again the high responsibility in which Romania President Nicolae Ceausescu worked for the constructive settlement of the big and complex issues of contemporary world, in harmony with the general interests of the aspirations after peace, freedom, independence and progress of all peopels.

Economic Development Resolution

LD271441 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0935 GMT 27 Oct 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 27/10/1984 -- A resolution of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP was released in Bucharest today regarding new measures for better application of the economic-financial mechanism, lower interest rates and establishment of maximal limits of profitability to a series of products, the stimulation of working people and enterprises for raising productivity, applying technical progress, enhancing the quality of products, cutting costs and raising economic efficiency.

The document shows that over the current five-year plan period (1981-1985) remarkable achievements have been scored in fulfilling plan tasks, in highly efficiently using the material, technical and human potential, in raising the national income and, on this basis, the people's standard of living.

As compared with the previous year, in 1983 industrial marketable production grew 4.1 per cent, and net production 5.1 per cent. Owing to the reduction of specific consumption of raw and subsidiary materials and energy, the national industry saved seven billion lei. Remarkable achievements have also been scored in the first nine months of this year. Thus, industrial marketable production has increased over six per cent, net output - 7.2 per cent, productivity -- 6.6 per cent and production costs dropped by more than six billion lei. Enterprises' profits and profitability have correspondingly increased, a sound money circulation has been ensured, the budget, financial, monetary and currency balance consolidated.

Moreover, stability has been provided for all categories of prices, working people's payment has increased and the over all agreement has been generalized, which contributed to a closer correlation between the working people's income and their achievements in production. In 1984, the price index with commodities for the population's consumption was almost two points below the planned index. Given the higher nominal payment and the evolution of the price index below the planned one, real payment rose six percent as to five percent initially envisaged in the program. Likewise, pensions increased six percent. All these measures of raising incomes and the people's standard of living could be implemented on the basis of a higher national income, of the people's work for better administration and growing national wealth.

Assessing the positive results in fulfilling the plan provisions and special programmes, the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP surveyed the possibilities of further bettering economic activities, and set new measures for an improved economic-financial mechanism with a view to further raising economic efficiency, and the qualitative facets of all activities.

Starting from the progress made in effectively cutting down production costs, from the provisions of the programmes regarding an additional reduction of these costs as well as from the fact that with certain products, parts and subassemblies in the horizontal industry profitability is unjustifiably high in comparison with the producers' real efforts, the resolution establishes maximal limits of profitability to a series of products like the items and (?sub-assemblies) supplies by the horizontal industry to be incorporated into final products as well as for spare parts and repair works on machinery and equipment.

The Executive Political Committee decided that, starting November 1 this year, interest rates should decrease with all categories of credits granted to socialist units as well as to the population.

The Executive Political Committee considers that the reduction of interest rates is a prerequisite for a better functioning of the economic-financial mechanism, which will stimulate economic units in appropriately fulfilling plan tasks, rationally utilizing capital assets and funds, cutting on banking credits and production costs, and continually increasing accumulations.

Taking into account the stability of retail prices in the country, the improvement of production prices on the basis of implementing programmes regarding higher technological and qualitative standards of products, higher productivity, lower production costs and better capitalization of raw and subsidiary materials and fuel, it was established that the exchange rate of the LEI should be improved in relation to the other states' currencies. This measure will help raise export's efficiency, consolidate and increase production units' financial results and strengthen self-financing and worker self-management.

The resolution also sets measures for a stronger stimulation of worker collectivities and enterprises in exemplarily fulfilling plan provisions, cutting production costs, in better contributing to the national income formation and raising, on this basis, the people's standard of living.

OIL, MINING, TOURISM MINISTERS REPLACED

AU272013 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1840 GMT 27 Oct 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 27/10/1984 -- Under presidential decree Ion Lazarescu is released from the office of minister of mining.

Marin Stefanache is appointed minister of mining.

Gheorghe Vlad is released from the office of minister of oil.

Ilie Cisu is appointed minister of oil.

Nicolae Gavrilescu is released from the office of minister of sports and tourism.

Ion Stanescu is released from the office of head of the department for construction abroad and appointed minister of sports and tourism.

DASCALESCU, DELEGATION DEPART FOR HAVANA

AU271424 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1300 GMT 27 Oct 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 27/10/1984 -- A delegation of the Socialist Republic of Romania led by Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, prime minister, left for Havana in the morning of October 27 to attend the 39th meeting of the session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Upon departure the delegation was seen off by Gheorghe Oprea, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister, by ministers and other officials.

AVRAM, USSR COMMUNICATIONS OFFICIAL HOLD TALKS

AU262105 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1955 GMT 26 Oct 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 26/10/1984 -- New concrete ways and means to expand and deepen the economic relations between Romania and the USSR were examined during the interview between Ioan Avram, deputy prime minister, and S.I. Shuleshko, first deputy minister [as received] means of communication of the USSR, who attended the seventh session of the Romanian-Soviet permanent working group on collaboration in transport.

ENERGY PROGRAM SEEKS SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN 10 YEARS

AU261737 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1603 GMT 26 Oct 84

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 26/10/1984 -- Romania has worked out a wide-ranging research and development programme in the field of energy, and drafted the major guidelines in this respect until the year 2000. The programme starts from the premise that in the current ten-year period Romania should achieve self-sufficiency in terms of energy and fuel.

Over 1980-1984 large funds were allotted to enhance the national economy's energy potential. The funds earmarked for the units under the Ministry of Electric Power amount to as much as 92.5 billion lei. As a result, the capacity of electric power stations will grow by more than 29 percent from 1980 until the end of 1984. Over the same period, the capacity of waterpower stations will rise by more than 46 percent, and that of thermal power stations by 24 percent, particularly of coal-fueled power stations. At present, the power grid of Romania's major rivers is operational in a proportion of one hundred percent on the Lotru River, 91 percent on the Somes River, 85 percent on the Cerna-Motru-Tismana river system, 81 percent on the Sebes River, 68 percent on the Arges River, 46 percent on the Olt River, 45 percent on the Danube River.

In the last five years, new coal fueled power-generating units were commissioned at the the thermal power stations at Turceni (1,320 MW), Rovinari (330 MW), Doicesti (400 MW), Mintia (210 MW), Borzesti (100 MW), as well as the waterpower stations at Turnu, Dragasani, Slatina, Tismana, Lotru-Bradisor, Somesul Cald, and others. In September 1984, the 330-MW power unit No. One of the oil shales-fueled thermal power station at Anina was connected to the national power grid. The draft directives of the Thirteenth RCP Congress envisage for the next quinquennium 21-22 billion kWh to be generated in nuclear power stations and about 30 billion kWh in thermal power ones fueled on coal and oil shales.

The oil industry goes through a process of continual expansion and modernization. Over 1980-1984, 5,500 new crude oil and gas wells were commissioned. The final crude recovery index from deposits also climbed from 32 to 33.2 percent. Over the last few years, new crude deposits were tapped at Ghelnita, Virteju, Contesti, Slavuta, Stoina, Valuta, and Madulari. Crude oil and gas deposits were also identified on the continental shelf of the Black Sea. Not long ago, deep drilling has touched the 7,000-meters down underground mark, setting a nationwide deep-drilling record at Baicoi. Over 1980-1984 installations were commissioned for better capitalizing gases at Turburea, Calacea, Abranut, Dofteana.

The crude extraction levels envisaged in the draft directives of the Thirteenth RCP Congress take account of the intensification of deep-drilling wells and drilling on the sea continental shelf, as well as of the growth of the final recovery index of reserves in deposits, which is to attain 40 percent in 1990. The mining industry also registered a powerful development. From 1980 until the end of the current year, the volume of investment in this sector will amount to some 53.8 billion lei. As such, the mechanization index of mining operations has also taken an upward curve. As to 1980, the volume of heading operations with shearers has increased by 71.4 percent this year, the amount of coal extracted by means of complex equipment is 47.2 percent larger, the volume of ore loaded by mechanical means in ore extraction units has risen by 16.5 percent.

In the period elapsed since the Twelfth RCP Congress (Nov. 1979), important production capacities were commissioned in the mining industry: for instance, lignite extraction pits at Amaradia-Tiriia, Husnicioara, Rosia de Jiu, Pesteana, Timiseni-Pinoasa, Stucani, Jilt-Sud and Jilt-Nord, Rosiuta, Seciuir, Urdari, Albeni, Lupoaia, Cimpulung, in the Jiu River valley coal field, at the lean copper ore deposits at Moldova Noua, Coranda-Condor, Valea Morii, as well as the first technological line at Rosita-Poeni. The average daily coal output has increased from 97,000 tons in October 1980, to 132,000 tons in October this year.

According to the provisions of the draft directives of the Thirteenth RCP Congress two thirds of the lignite and brown coal output (84-89 million tons) will be turned out in pit mining. The gross bituminous coal output will undergo washing operations with a view to further increasing the volume of coking coal.

DECREE AWARDS TITLE TO AGRICULTURAL UNITS

AU251103 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romania 22 Oct 84 p 1

["Presidential Decree on Awarding the Title of 'Hero of Socialist Labor' to Certain Socialist Agricultural Units"]

[Text] For their particular contribution to implementing the party and state policy on developing socialist agriculture and for their large corn yields in 1984,

The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Sole Article: The title "Hero of Socialist Labor" will be awarded to the following socialist agricultural units:

-- Scornicesti Agricultural Production Cooperative in Scornicesti Commune Olt County, which has registered an average yield of 26,443 kilograms of cob corn per hectare on the overall area sown to corn.

-- Vadastrita Agricultural Production Cooperative of Vadastrita Commune, Olt County, which has achieved an average yield of 24,530 kilograms of cob corn per hectare on the overall area sown to corn;

-- Urzica Agricultural Production Cooperative of Urzica Commune, Olt County, which has recorded an average yield of 24,350 kilograms of cob corn per hectare on the overall area sown to corn.

-- Teieion Cooperative of Scornicesti Commune, Olt County, for achieving an average yield of 21,600 kilograms of cob corn per hectare on the overall area sown to corn;

-- Gostavatu Agricultural Production Cooperative of Gostavatu Commune, Olt County, which has achieved an average yield of 20,950 kilograms of cob corn per hectare on the overall area sown to corn;

-- Orgoru Agricultural Production Cooperative of Pecica Commune, Arad County, for achieving an average yield of 21,865 kilograms of cob corn per hectare on the overall area sown to corn;

-- Semlac Agricultural State Enterprise of Semlac Commune, Arad County for registering an average yield of 20,020 kilograms of cob corn per hectare on the overall area sown to corn;

-- Topolovatu Mare Agricultural Production Cooperative of Topolovatu Mare Commune, Timis County, for an average yield of 20,530 kilograms of cob corn per hectare on the overall area sown to corn.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

PCE DELEGATION MEETS BOBU, STOIAN, ENDS VISIT

AU271526 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1453 GMT 27 Oct 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 27/10/1984 -- A delegation of the Communist Party of Spain [CPS], headed by Jose M. Jerez [spelling as received] member of the Executive Committee of the CC of the CPS, paid a friendly visit to Romania over October 20-27, 1984.

At the end of the visit, the delegation was received by Emil Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, and Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP. On the occasion messages of salute were exchanged between the RCP general secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu, and the leaders of the Communist Party of Spain.

The good relations between the RCP and the CPS were recalled during the talks and the wish was expressed that, in the spirit of mutual esteem and regard, of the talks between Nicolae Ceausescu and Gerardo Iglesias, the relations between the two parties should further develop in the interests of the Romanian and Spanish peoples, of the cause of peace, security and national independence, of social progress and socialism.

SREBRIC DEPARTS FOR CEMA TALKS IN HAVANA

LD271103 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0836 GMT 27 Oct 84

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Oct (TANJUG) -- Borisav Srebric, vice president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC] left for Havana today at the head of a Yugoslav delegation to the 29th regular CEMA session. The delegation also includes Mito Pejovski, FEC member and SFRY permanent CEMA representative.

At the invitation of the president of the State Council and Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, the host country, and under the terms provided by the agreement concluded between the SFRY Government and CEMA, the Yugoslav delgation will take part in discussions on the annual report, measures to secure fuel supplies, energy and raw materials, and on coordinating the economic cooperation plans for 1986-90. Mutilateral economic, scientific and technological cooperation between the SFRY and CEMA member countries continues in a number of fields and proceeds from the established principles and mutual interest. It has now been 20 years since 17 September 1964 when an agreement was concluded between the SFRY and CEMA on the SFRY's participation in the work of CEMA bodies.

ARKHIPOV, LEADERS DISCUSS ECONOMIC, S&T TIES

LD261638 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1512 GMT 26 Oct 84

[Text] Split, 26 Oct (TANJUG) -- Milka Planinc, president of the FEC, received in Split today Ivan Vasilyevich Arkhipov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Soviet side of the intergovernmental Yugoslav-Soviet Committee for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation, who is paying a brief visit to our country at the FEC's invitation. In a cordial talk, which was also attended by Jernej Jan, member of the FEC, the sides expressed their satisfaction with the successful development of overall economic relations between our countries. Fruitful economic cooperation is characterized by the continuing growth in the volume of trade which is in line with the provisions of the Long-Term Program of Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation Between the SFRY and the USSR. Both sides emphasized a desire to continue to promote this mutually beneficial cooperation on a lasting and long-term basis.

[Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1947 GMT on 26 October adds: Ante Markovic, president of the Executive Council of the SR of Croatia, received Ivan Vasilyevich Arkhipov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, in Split this evening. In a cordial talk the two sides examined the results of hitherto successful cooperation and the possibilities for expanding medium-term economic cooperation between the SR of Croatia and the Soviet Union within the framework of the Long-Term Program of Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation Between the SFRY and the USSR.]

Arkhipov Visits Pula Shipyard

LD272338 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Coratian 2000 GMT 27 Oct 84

[Text] Ivan Arkhipov, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, was at the Uljanik shipyard in Pula today. He is visiting our country as a guest of the FEC. He attended the formal launching of the third of eight ships which the Pula shipbuilders are building for Sudoimport in Moscow.

SFRY DELEGATE ADDRESSES UN ON CENTRAL AMERICA

LD261049 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0929 GMT 26 Oct 84

["Pool" item]

[Text] United Nations, October 26 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslavia supports the Contadora Group's recommendations as a way out of the crisis, Ignac Golob, Yugoslavia's permanent representative to the United Nations, told the General Assembly here last night.

Coming out in favour of adopting the said group's plan as soon as possible, Ambassador Golob said that any delay or dragging out would do only harm to prospects for peace in Central America. In their initiative the Contadora Group countries enjoy a wide support from the Non-aligned Movement and the "Group of 77," i.e. from an overwhelming majority of mankind, he recalled.

The non-aligned ministerial gathering in New York recently has voiced its firm solidarity with Nicaragua and called for immediately stopping all actions hostile to that country, Ambassador Golob said. It is in the spirit of their traditional activity that the non-aligned are against any interference in the internal affairs of other countries and for finding a way out of the crisis by political means, he emphasized.

Yugoslavia and non-aligned Nicaragua maintain friendly relations, Ambassador Golob said while explaining interest in finding a peaceful and equitable solution to the crisis.

"We are for a dialogue, but not for haggling over independence and territorial integrity as sovereign rights of any nation," he said.

The Yugoslav ambassador also spoke about the hard situation in El Salvador which, in his opinion, can be over come only through participation on equal terms of all democratic forces, including the National Liberation Front Farabundo Marti and the Democratic Revolutionary Front. Coming out in this case in favour of negotiations and dialogue, he welcomed the recent meeting between government representatives and representatives of the above-mentioned movements in El Salvador.

Explaining Yugoslavia's stand on the state of affairs in Central America, Ambassador Golob concluded that tension-easing in that part of the world could be reached only "by way of free right to self-determination, without pressures and outside interference."

SUNDIC ON PRC 'ADOPTING A CLEAR CLASS POSITION'

LD271856 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Oct 84

[Text] The foreign political theme of today's news is Soviet-Cinese relations. What does Konstantin Chernenko's call to China to adopt a clear class position in international relations mean? Commentary by Milika Sundic:

[Begin recording] Chernenko's call to China to adopt a clear class position in international affairs could be interpreted in two ways: as a criticism of Chinese foreign policy, that is, as a reaction to the accusations and objections directed by China at the Soviet Union, and as an emphasis of the need for the two countries to continue their efforts toward overcoming the differences which divide them.

According to Chernenko, the Soviet Union aims at improving relations with China and is taking relevant steps in that direction. The Soviet leader did not elaborate on the kind of steps he had in mind, but one could assume that his statement represents a reply to China's recent renewed invitation to Ivan Arkhipov, first Soviet deputy premier, to visit Beijing.

Arkhipov's visit, which was canceled at the last minute at the beginning of May, can be expected to take place soon, in all likelihood by the end of this year or at the beginning of next. As matters now stand, and bearing in mind that the fifth round of the Soviet-Chinese negotiations at the level of deputy foreign affairs ministers is in progress, there is every prospect for China and the Soviet Union to make additional efforts to hold mutual contacts more frequently at a higher level. One of Konstantin Chernenko's first statements after being elected general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee was that the Soviet Union is ready to raise the negotiations, held alternatively in Moscow and Beijing, to a higher level. It was only after this statement that Ivan Arkhipov's visit to China was fixed. As we have already said, however, it did not take place because, as the Soviet side explained, Arkhipov was not ready for the visit at the time.

At that time, it was not reliably known what was going on; was it a question of postponement or of cancellation. Only when Deng Xiaoping stated that China was expecting Arkhipov did it become clear that China was counting on his visit. Deng also said something else at the same time which was close to Soviet views regarding the negotiations between China and the Soviet Union and the problems under the discussion. He declared that there are no obstacles to the promotion of economic and cultural cooperation regardless of the disputed problems, such as the presence of Soviet forces in Mongolia and on the common Chinese-Soviet border, as well as the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and the assistance which the Soviet Union extends to the Vietnamese intervention in Kampuchea.

For the time being, it is true enough that there can be no question of Deng's statement marking a retreat from criticisms of Soviet behavior, but, in view of the statement's wording, China is evidently ready to not make bilateral cooperation of an economic and cultural nature conditional on the resolution of major problems.

With all this in mind, Chernenko's call to China to adopt a clear class position in international affairs, becomes clearer. In other words, China is called upon to stop criticizing that which is described in Soviet Union -- with reference to Afghanistan and to support for Vietnam's intervention in Kampuchea -- as internationalist solidarity or as fulfilling its internationalist duty. China, of course, does not accept such internationalism because military interventions do not represent such internationalism regardless of all the explanations accompanying such interventions. Despite all this, China is no less prepared than the Soviet Union to develop and promote cooperation on equitable foundations. We find confirmation of this both in Deng Xiaoping's statement as well as in an indirect message by Hu Yaobang to the Soviet leadership that China will never, at any price whatsoever, use its relations with the United States against the Soviet Union. [end recording]

PRC ECONOMIC REFORM: BOLD IDEOLOGICAL MOVE

AU242140 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Oct 84 p 2

[Dragoslav Rancic commentary: "The Chinese Road"]

[Excerpts] China has firmly announced that its socialism will not be just a distribution of poverty and strict state coercion according to the inherited Stalinist model, but rather a society that takes into consideration commodity production, producers' initiative, competitveness on the market, and objective economic laws.

This decision by the CPC Central Committee, although it pertains only to the economy, is basically one of the boldest ideological and political moves in the reform of Chinese socialism in the 35 years of its existence.

In the search for its own road to socialism, China has been guided by a specific trait of its armed revolution. Just as at one time villages were liberated so that, later, towns could be besieged, thus also the economic reform has first begun to liberate peasants from the inheritance of forced collectivization only to be later, after the summing up of successes, directed at the state economy in the towns.

China has entered a great and complex undertaking, and such undertakings are not without risks. The application of the law of value means, among other things, a reduction of the gap in the prices between industrial and agricultural products. In practice this means that 800 million peasants must be paid more for their work. At present the state subsidizes the purchase prices of agricultural products by a sum more than a quarter of its budget. This calls for establishing economic prices, both of agricultural and industrial products. And the establishment of economic prices is one of the most complex problems in a socialist economy, in general. In a country with low pay and large state subsidies this also means an unavoidable increase in the cost of daily life, the creation of greater social and regional differences, the closing of uneconomic enterprises, higher inflation, and many other things.

However, this is a great Chinese settling of accounts with the inherited economic dogmas. As they have concluded, by opening the country to the world, that there can be no progress and modernization in isolation, thus now, with the reform of the economy's structure, the Chinese have concluded that there can be no socialism either without full respect for human work.

There exists a great difference between the prototype of a central planned economy and the concepts that take into consideration the functioning of market laws. The first system is inclined to idealize itself -- something that China has experienced well in its own example -- while the second system is inclined to dynamically perfect itself and compare itself with other systems. With a great critical attitude China has assessed what it wants to change. The boldness of this orientation is perhaps best demonstrated by the fact that China has over 1 billion people and that it has only recently succeeded in freeing itself from the belief that even the most ordinary village market is a "deviation into capitalist waters." Today, China speaks about the danger that every plan means a deviation from reality if it neglects the market.

PAPANDREOU'S VISIT TO POLAND, U.S. REACTION VIEWED

LD290114 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Oct 84

[Text] What has Greek Prime Minister Papandreou's visit to Warsaw actually revealed, Milika Sundic wonders:

The United States reacted very nervously to the Greek Prime Minister Papandreou's statement in which he said that he would intercede with the EEC to see that sanctions against Poland be withdrawn. Neither is Washington pleased that Papandreou and Wojciech Jaruzelski shared the same attitude towards removing nuclear missiles from Europe. It is annoyed that a Greek-Polish meeting at the prime ministerial level took place at all.

For Poland, however, Papandreou's visit is important. Although the Polish leadership did not like all of what the Greek premier said during his visit, particularly his support for free trade union activity, Warsaw is still more than pleased with the fact that Papandreou paid a visit to Poland. Greece is the only NATO member-state that did not come out in favor of the West's decision to impose economic sanctions against Poland and Papandreou is the first West European leader to visit Warsaw after the imposition of the state of emergency.

It is too early to say if other West European leaders will follow Papandreou's example, particularly if one takes into account the United States' efforts at retaining status quo in West's relations with Poland for as long as Premier Jaruzelski's government does not come out with new evidence of further normalizations of the situation in the country. True, America's West European allies would have nothing against removing the economic sanctions against Poland, simply because they are aware that Poland cannot be forced to make those changes insisted upon by the Reagan administration. On the other hand, they are annoyed with the United States' inconsistent attitude toward Poland to which Premier Papandreou referred when he said: "I would like to see such resentment shown by the West towards Turkey, Chile or El Salvador."

Papandreou's visit to Warsaw is, of course, not only proof that the socialist Greek Government understands the Polish situation and its troubles but at the same time it also indicates Greece's dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in the Western camp and its own position within it. Greece welcomes support for its dispute with Turkey about the Aegean and Cyprus and the problems in its relations with the United States from whichever quarter it comes. Even before the American reaction to his visit to Warsaw and the statement he made there, Papandreou was quite aware of the fact that his trip to Warsaw would be received with suspicion. That is why the progovernment press in Greece did not hesitate to reply very sharply to U.S. comments on Papandreou's visit to Poland. According to the Greek press the U.S. Administration does not look favorably to the [words indistinct] rapprochement and the assessments voiced by Papandreou about the present state of affairs in Poland. And the essence of Papandreou's assessments is that the situation in Poland should be accepted as something that cannot be changed from outside without both Poland and Europe exposed to new dangers.

LCY CC CHANGES MUST BEGIN WITH PRESIDIUM ACTION

AU251927 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Oct 84 p 2

[Slobodan Vukmirovic article: "Some New Sessions"]

[Excerpts] It is not unknown to journalists reporting on the LCY Central Committee sessions that for a long time a kind of "scenario" was prepared for the chairman of the sessions by the committee's services. Nearly everything about the course of the session was prepared on those few typed pages. And the discussions themselves boiled down mainly to reading small general-political reports that were more likely the result of the collective view and brain of the most select republican-provincial leaderships than of the speaker's own deliberations and conclusions.

These discussions have long since been quite rightly critically called a "series of monologues."

The 13th and the 14th sessions of the LCY Central Committee are the reason for these introductory reminiscences and for these lines from the margins of the reporter's notebook.

Both of these two sessions "jumped out" in some way from the envisaged procedure in the "scenario" and, at least for the time being, may have surprised many people. At the proposal of several LCY Central Committee members at the 13th session, an agreement resulted on what we today call general party discussions (and party action!) that are now being held. A specific "roll call" by Andrej Marinc of certain proponents of the (unacceptable?) programmatic-political views, along with Dragoslav Markovic's reply on that occasion, provoked unusual polemical interventions at the open arena of the 14th session.

Despite the justified criticism of the phenomena of forum-like isolation and work, of all our boundaries and small boundaries, of all our inconsistencies in a more complete application of the principle of democratic centralism, the grassroots of society's worker-class have found ways to express their firm irreconcilability with the phenomena of an uncreative routine in the work of leadership on all levels. This is the same genius of the masses whose spirit and aspirations Tito was able to sense so quickly. Tito then organized the actions of the leadership and members of the LCY to follow the masses.

The intentions are clear. In the future, it is necessary to ensure more creative work at the Central Committee sessions. It is necessary to nurture a democratic discussion in order to clarify the different views on all important problems of our development, the solutions of which have been mainly postponed by the past "monologues."

Let us repeat: The intention is clear and welcome. Nonetheless, caution is needed. The members do not demand, and in fact they do not want, another session of the leadership which would show different view -- irrespective of whether these differences are expressed through a most democratic and most tolerant discussion -- unless these begin to be seriously overcome at the very same session.

Of course to ensure this, it is necessary to have much more than a new, more suitable hall for sessions and scores of microphones instead of a single microphone. More important than this is, for instance, that the LCY Central Committee Presidium truly carries out its statutory obligation and that it "elaborates and adopts the current policy, directs the ideopolitical activity of the LC organs and organizations, coordinates the political views and positions, reacts in time to political developments, adopts concrete political positions, initiates, directs, and organizes an operational implementation of the adopted policy and political positions, and coordinates the current ideopolitical activity with the central and provincial committees...."

Without these and similar changes in relations and responsibilities for the LC action unity, fears would truly be justified that the new Central Committee sessions could be "wrongly understood" by the broadest public and that for this reason it would perhaps be better to "close" the sessions.

14TH LCY CC: PUBLIC WANTED UNITY, NOT POLEMICS

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[Text] Zagreb, 27 Oct (TANJUG) -- "Until the time of the proposed conclusions of the 13th LCY Central Committee session and subsequently it has been clearly shown, at least this is my view, that nothing need be essentially changed in the basic fundamental matters. This, however, does not mean that we should not reexamine seriously and earnestly and see what practices should be changed in order that these orientations be achieved.

"It is not a question of someone being mischievous by offering unusual solutions. Mischievousness could provide ideas but social problems could not be seriously resolved through mischievousness," Jure Bilic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said in his interview to VJESNIK of Zagreb.

Bilic stressed that the 14th LCY Central Committee sesison is "a continuation of the 13th session and serves the demands of the 13th session, that is, of our economic stabilization program. It seems to me that this essential aspect of the session did not meet with the public response it deserved. This is the weakness of the way the session has been presented. The polemic and replies of four Central Committee members have become unjustifiably dominant."

Jure Bilic then spoke of the echoes of this session among LC members and said that "some workers have been almost disappointed. Their attitude is: With the 13th session we mobilized the party membership, vital issues are increasingly discussed and the 14th session was expected to build unity in the LCY and its Central Committee. However, the polemic came as a shock because it is interpreted as disunity.

"There are comrades and Central Committee members who have also believed that it was not a good thing to make this point; others again think this a good thing because our public will know who advocates what. It is possible that this is not merely a question of differences in the approach to matters but it is also possible that there are suspicions about the motives and this could lead to suspicion about someone or other wanting to change the entire or part of the course for which we have opted.

"The most important thing is to analyze seriously, with substantiation, professionally, analytically, and politically whether our practice confirms or rejects our orientations and solutions. In this context, the 14th session is positively assessed because it is believed that with a dialogue, and a substantiated dialogue at that, real truths and solutions could be arrived at more speedily."

Replying to the question about explicit disagreements between republics and provinces about important questions of the country's development, Bilic stressed first that something could not be a good thing in one environment and bad in another and then added: "Because, differences objectively exist but conflicts arise when views are advocated and moves are made which support development only in one environment and harm others. This happens often today. Instead of this, all of us should fight for productivity and rational management."

Bilic believes that there could be no solutions if solutions are sought which would in a developed environment retain its "privilege" because it is more productive and more oriented towards exports and if difficulties of another environment are not taken into consideration even if they arise on account of subjective weaknesses.

"If all this is reflected in the Yugoslav party leadership then unity in it is made difficult. I therefore believe that republican and provincial economies demand a deeper criticism and analysis. Everybody should live off his own work but because of the different degrees of development we must ascertain the degree of solidarity. The present solidarity regarding budgets and funds should be transformed in order that both of them serve rational management. As long as this is not done there will be difficulties of the kind we have now," Bilic said.

Bilic spoke at length about the form of management in the LC and in this context he stressed that a complete cadre renewal of the LCY leadership was in progress and that the question now was how to find the right measure. "I am for that Chinese one: three in one, the older, the middle and the younger generation. Let it then be assessed who contributes what and how. It seems to me that this is the most realistic way, with the proviso that in all likelihood the time in which we live calls for accelerating this process," Bilic says.

He believes that "a political executive body is possible but of a different function than the Politburo of the Executive Bureau had been which, while Tito was alive, had been able perhaps to be more operative. If the relations in the LCY and in society are not changed however, then such a body, be it small or large, will not resolve the problem.

"Improvisation and impression are also possible in politics, just as rashly contriving something is also possible and could be attractive to and tickle the public's fancy and perhaps even entertain a section of the public, but this is not serious policy pursued by serious people. The time in which we live demands cool and sober heads as well as resolute solution of outstanding issues. "Our country's crucial question is whether we resolve outstanding issues with the instruments of the economic policy and clarify the dilemmas of the political system. It is essential that we close outstanding issues as quickly and as resolutely as possible. The LCY Central Committee Presidium is now organizing this business on the basis of the 13th and 14th LCY Central Committee sessions.

"Were the situation different, particularly the economic one, there could perhaps be more 'entertainment,' but at this point in time it seems to me that both a measure and a guaranteee should be found, because to create an atmosphere of weakness could cost us dearly. This discussion and activity in connection with the 13th LCY Central Committee session gives us much confidence and strength.

Speaking then about the fact that many solutions and institutions of society were on trial, Bilic stressed that there were things about which there can be no discussions or dilemmas. There is no dilemma as to whether we have self-management or not whether we shall aim for real socialism or for the restoration of a multiparty system. There is no dilemma whether we shall have a federation as we have now. All our documents, including the 13th session, are clearly oriented towards that. Some people today dispute the national policy and self-management: In the present debate, the membership and all the working people have to reject this. There is demagogical flirting with the young people, workers and veterans in order to attempt to create a general social crisis and postpone this revolution of ours, Jure Bilic stressed.

Bilic also dealt with the debates on the foreign exchange system. He noted that the existing foreign exchange law was a half-way solution. "What is important now is for us not to quarrel whether we are in favor of a foreign exchange market or not but how to establish relations which will stimulate exports, productivity, rational management and which will take the economy into the world market. It is on this basis that technical and economic solutions should be sought," Jure Bilic, LCY Central Committe Presidium member said at the end of his speech.